

# The ARENA

EDITED BY  
JOHN CLARK RIDPATH, LL.D.

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# THE ARENA.

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## THE CITIZEN AND HIS CITY: THE CITY AND ITS CITIZEN.

BY HON. JOHN BOYD THACHER,

*Mayor of Albany, N. Y.*

ON several occasions, when discussing the subject of the trend of population toward cities, I have asserted that this tendency could be traced to five causes:

First, the protection to the inhabitants and to their property afforded by municipal government;

Second, the inclination of the individual to be relieved of care and responsibility, and the willingness of the municipality to relieve him;

Third, the commercial activities of cities, the result of accessible labor and immediate markets;

Fourth, the sociability, diversion, and sympathy man finds in society;

Fifth, the educational facilities supplied by and found in cities.

It is in the second of these causes, the inclination of the individual to be relieved of care and responsibility, and the willingness of the municipality to relieve him, that I find the root of municipal evils and a possible danger to republican institutions. The citizen cannot escape the responsibility of his citizenship. There is a popular fiction that our government is a government of the people, by the people, for the people. It is a government of the people and for the people, but it is not a government by the people. The latter is only possible in a pure democracy, and a pure democracy is only possible in a small community where the people exercise directly the power vested in themselves. The New England town-meeting was perhaps the nearest approach to this form of government in our country, and had for its prototype the gathering of the Athenians in the Agora. In our form of government the people govern by representatives. If a pure democracy were in operation, the citizen would have to leave his shop, his desk, his office, at stated but frequent intervals, and pronounce his vote on matters of daily government. By the introduction of a representative agency he

is relieved of this arduous duty. At certain intervals he has an opportunity to choose a representative, and, theoretically, he is supposed to be in frequent, if not constant, communication with that representative, acquainting him with his own views and guiding him in his conduct. That was the old-fashioned notion of their relationship. In these days the citizen seldom sees his representative, and the representative no longer regards himself as the servant of the citizen. In the olden days the citizen valued the privilege of choosing his representative and discussed his selection for weeks and months. In these days the citizen scarcely can spare the time to go to the polls on the day set apart for election. He never can spare the time to attend the primaries when the candidate is placed in nomination. Political responsibility is too grievous a burden for him to bear. His ears are much troubled with complaints of bad government, and at times his conscience is uneasy. He waits until his indifference and carelessness result in a bad government becoming an unbearable government, and then, joining with a few other good and angry but equally careless citizens, he rises in protest and shifts the bad government from the shoulder of one political party to the shoulder of another political party.

The indifferent citizen is not a good citizen. The man we call a good citizen is a good man, an upright man, honored and respected in the community, but a perfect cipher in the state. He contributes nothing, unless it be money in taxes, and this the law forces from him. His voice is never heard in council. He lifts up neither his left hand in admonition nor his right in approbation. It is not long since an eminent citizen came into my office to inquire why his taxes were so high. I asked him if I had not satisfied him on that point in my annual message. "Never in my life," he answered, "have I read the message of a President, of a Governor, of a Mayor." Yet this man is one of our best citizens. When the world speaks of his calling, his name comes easily to its lips. He is simply indifferent, and the full performance of the duties of his citizenship is a burden beyond his bearing. The constitution of the United States directs the President to inform Congress from time to time of the state of the Union, and this is done in the form of messages; the constitution of the State of New York makes it the duty of the Governor to communicate an annual message; the charter of the city instructs the Mayor to write an annual message; but neither constitution nor charter can make a citizen acquaint himself with public matters or interest himself in public affairs. Perhaps, after all, habitual indifference on the part of the good citizen is better than spasmodic and unintelligent participation in government. When our foot stumbles and we are forced to remove a rock from the path, we generalize, and hate all boulders. When the citizen

is compelled by private conscience or public complaint to interrupt a comfortable ease with the necessity of pushing the machine of government along the road, he says hard words of the incompetent or scampish hands which have been dragging it. Repeated experiences of this kind enrage him, and he transfers his anger from the unworthy hands to the machine of government itself. Then, if you whisper to him that there are certain hands so strong that they can be safely intrusted to drag the machine, and so constant in labor that he may never again be called from his ease to worry over accidents or stoppages, the citizen will be ready to vote for another form of government and to inscribe as his last laborious public work the word Republic upon his shell.

Most things in this world worth having come to us at the price of toil and trouble, and only coin of the realm of labor will obtain them and retain them. If our liberties are to be preserved it must be through a retention of the governing power, not merely in the hands of those who want to govern, not necessarily in the hands of those who are best fitted to govern, but in the hands of those who ought to govern—the people themselves, all the people. The citizen not only owes the public a portion of his property as tithes and taxes, but he owes a portion of his own personal service, if it be exacted of him. He should make this sacrifice, and make it in the spirit of a volunteer, not with the forced consent of the conscript. But if he falls short of this measure of patriotism, then let him at least interest himself intelligently in public affairs, and by attending on the primaries of his party, by constant consultations with his fellows, his neighbors, his business associates, influence both the selection of candidates and their election at the polls. The moral influence of a handful of such citizens as the discerning reader will understand me to indicate, would reach beyond their numbers, beyond their election districts, beyond their wards, in any municipality and in any political party. The so-called ward politician has the greatest possible regard for the good citizen who is sincere and earnest and diligent, who joins with him in legitimate and necessary committee work, who helps with the books and records of enrolled voters, who stands shoulder to shoulder with him near the polling-place on election day in storm or heat, and who marches with him in long, weary processions under dripping torches and in ill-smelling oilcloth, arousing a slow enthusiasm for candidates and principles. There seems to be an impression that such service is not respectable, and that a party leader will require of a novice as a test of his fidelity that he shall stuff one ballot-box with party votes and open another with an axe, while a confederate extinguishes the light in the polling-place. No such degree is conferred on the incipient politician in any temple in Boston or New York



or in any other American city. Respectability is strength, and any intelligent party leader will welcome both.

The infrequency with which the good citizen employs his right of suffrage disqualifies him for the most intelligent exercise of that right. He does not differentiate issues. He does not distinguish between candidates and the different offices they are to fill. There is generally one supreme issue which has drawn him to the polls, and all other issues are accepted, if associated by party adoption, with the supreme issue. There is one candidate whose election he is pleased to believe will alone save the country, and the good citizen eagerly accepts every other name on the ticket. In New York State, in the fall of 1894, the people had before them for adoption a new constitution. This constitution contained a few improvements over the old instrument, but there was incorporated into it the most unfair division of legislative districts ever known. This gerrymandering scheme made it practically impossible for the political party opposing the supporters of the new constitution to secure control of the legislature for at least twenty years. It was so openly unfair that, under ordinary circumstances, an appeal to fair-minded citizens would have been successful. However, the people had been minded for some time to punish the said opposition party, and the good citizen not only voted to deprive that party of executive office, but deliberately expelled it for twenty years from legislative control of public affairs. This was an unintelligent disposition of the two questions. The executive control could have been taken from the one party without establishing for the other party, by the adoption of the constitution with its unjust geographical voting districts, a twenty-years' lease of legislative power. A party long in power is liable to become corrupt, and it is good public policy to keep an opposition party in readiness to accept its place and its responsibility when the corrupt party shall be driven from power. But here the people deprived themselves of this safeguard. The only explanation the good citizen has given of his conduct on that occasion is that he was exceedingly angry and that he did not stop to consider.

In the same State of New York last year, another exhibition of the inability of the good citizen to differentiate issues was given with a slightly different excuse, but which more pointedly shows the danger to the good citizen in his infrequent exercise of the suffrage and in his ignorance of the method of exercising that suffrage. The party in power in the State and in full control of every department of the State government, if not absolutely corrupt, had at least conducted public affairs with such extravagance and for such purely partisan ends that public condemnation was expected and promised. Then suddenly the country became involved in a national issue which became supreme.

There was but one ballot, reaching to the moon. It included the several candidates for all offices, from members of the electoral college to coroner. A single slip of a clumsy lead pencil, an unintentional mark anywhere upon its length or breath, and it was void. The good citizen could not trust himself to distinguish between national and state issues or to assent to Smith and to scratch Brown. Therefore, placing his mark in the circle to indicate his acceptance of the entire list, he voted a straight but unintelligent ballot.

This indifference of the individual, this disinclination of the good citizen to perform his part in government, are taken into account by the lawmakers in constructing a municipal charter. It is assumed, first, that he will not accept office himself, and, therefore, that an inferior order of being will hold official position; and, second, that he will not interest himself in such a manner that the inferior being will stand in perpetual awe of him and thus conduct his office properly. Acting on this assumption, the first care has been to build a charter on the principle of restraint and hindrance. The Mayor is the chief executive officer of the city. The charter places impediments and obstacles constantly before him. He is like one expected to run a race, yet about his limbs are shackles, and to his feet are fastened leaden shoes. He has not even the poor satisfaction of wholly resembling Justice, for his eyes are open to behold the shackles, and his lips move in bemoaning his heavy weights. On taking office the Mayor is told that the municipality is a huge business corporation, that he is to be its general manager, and is to be held responsible for its management. He enters hopefully upon his duties, entertaining large ideas of reforms and improvements. He finds himself hampered at every step by charter restrictions and is told that they are necessary guards against the exercise of arbitrary power by a bad Mayor; that if there were no restrictions the good citizen would have to be constantly watching the conduct of the Mayor, which the bonds and gyves of the charter restrictions now make unnecessary. Probably no municipal instrument has ever been framed with such care and study as the proposed charter for Greater New York. Yet it is apparent that its aim has been to relieve the citizen of care and responsibility in the city government, except by inviting his attention once in four years when a Mayor is to be chosen. It proposes to restrict executive powers by the employment of an impersonal police commission and of individual heads of departments who are deprived of control over subordinates. A single-headed commission appointed by a Mayor (himself elected every one or two years) and removable at any time by the Mayor means unusual watchfulness on the part of the citizen. Unremitting watchfulness on the part of the citizen means constant agitation and frequent annoyance.

Thus far and somewhat at length I have dwelt upon the duty of the citizen toward his city. Upon his active interest in municipal affairs depends a good popular government. It is quite possible to have a good government which will secure to the citizen all and perhaps more than he ought to have, without its operating as a popular government. There are good municipal governments in some places in England and on the continent, but in which all the people do not participate in the administration as they do in this country. I have assumed that the problem requires a good municipal government within our present system of free and practically universal suffrage.

\* \* \* \* \*

When we approach a discussion of the duty of the city to the citizen we are on wider waters. For myself I have adopted one principle which seems to afford safe anchorage, and which may hold the reader to something stable:

*"The state, that is, the city, shall do nothing for the individual which the individual can do for himself."*

The citizen has come to the city because there are certain necessary things which, if he does for himself, he does ill and at too great an expenditure of labor. The city can guard his life better than he can himself. It can guard his property better than he can. It can guard his health better than he can. These are things which are practically impossible for him to do for himself. He cannot employ a policeman at his own expense. He cannot hire the services of a trained fireman who shall be constantly ready to extinguish any flames which may break out in his house. He cannot dig a sewer from his home to the river or to the harbor. He cannot continually travel to and from the mountain-side, bringing water for his own use. These things the city must do for him. His share of the common expense for police and fire protection and for the sewer work and the water he uses, is a comparatively small sum. When the citizen lived in the country, on grounds affording plenty of room for cesspools, he had no need of an elaborate sewer system. In the city, with a narrow house and scarcely any adjacent ground, he is obliged to join with other citizens in carrying the sewage to a distance. Public health demands this, and as the citizen manifestly cannot have an independent sewer, and as a uniformity of character and construction is required, the city builds it for him. Paving and public lighting are not to be done by the individual, although if we considered only the benefit to certain localities, they might very well be done by him. They rest as a public charge upon the broad ground that the streets and public places belong not to the individual, but to the people at large; not even to the municipality, but to the great mass of the public who have a right to thoroughfares as to the king's high-

way. It is true that in many cities the first charge for paving is upon the property adjoining, but the principle of public use is generally recognized in providing that repairs and repaving shall be a public charge. The city furnishes light to the public, not to the individual. A thoroughfare is lighted not merely or primarily for the benefit of the people who live on the thoroughfare, but as a salutary police regulation and for the benefit of the public who must pass through it by night. Public parks and squares are likewise works of public necessity, for they are the lungs through which the city breathes. An education is necessary for good citizenship. The citizen has to work, and cannot teach his child even if he has the knowledge and the facility to impart that knowledge. The child cannot well educate itself by private effort. The city establishes and maintains at public expense schools and academies, libraries of rare and costly books, and art galleries with original examples of the old masters, which are free and accessible to all.

At this point our vessel rocks and the cable strains. How far may the state go in providing higher education and the luxury of cultivation at public cost? Is there any limit? If I interpret the present public sentiment correctly, it practically declares that there is no limit. And yet I feel sure public sentiment is not enlightened on this question. It does not comprehend the true functions of a government like ours. When the state gives a citizen that sort of education which enables him to earn a living by its use alone, it performs a work for him which it denies to another. It is apparent that all men in a community cannot be chemists. Some must be cutters of stone and hewers of wood. Why should the state equip a man to be a chemist and refuse to teach another to be a mason and still another to be a carpenter? That knowledge of chemistry which is elementary should be taught free in the public schools. That knowledge of chemistry which lifts a man from the bench of the disciple to the chair of the master, is not a proper public charge. It is not a proper charge, because, with the elementary tools given him free, the man can equip himself for his work. This is a vastly unpopular view, and I am aware that a man metaphorically takes his life in his hands when he goes abroad into Boston to preach this doctrine.

I want the individual to be highly educated, even to be, so to speak, elaborately educated. I am willing that he should be educated free, rather than at his own expense; but let the charges for his superior, and consequently his special, education be at the cost of private and not of public liberality. And just here is a difficulty which the state meets when it undertakes to perform for the individual his duties. The obligation of great private fortunes to serve public purposes is no longer recognized. Let the man of enormous riches behold the state

filling with its own money those channels through which he had hoped to dispense his wealth, and he will divert his fortune to building stables for his horses and a mausoleum for his body. The state has preempted that field of generosity on which he had contemplated the erection of a monument to his soul. This sense of public obligation has been very strong in this country, and it has reconciled the unambitious man to the grasping hands of his accumulating brother. In other lands, where the state does everything for the individual, the public dedication of private fortunes is not common. Now and then in a European city an Althorp library or a Borghese Gallery is given to the public, but the instances attract attention from the unexpected diversion of the fortunes to public service. In America the gathering of a fortune has been largely with a view to the establishment for the public of beneficent charitable and higher educational institutions. As these things are not necessary to a free state, so they do not of themselves indicate a free state. The first public library ever erected in Europe is said to have been founded by Pisistratus, and we call him to this day "the Tyrant."

If the city may do those things for the individual which he cannot do for himself, may it do for him those things which he finds it inconvenient to do for himself? If it may care for his safety and his health, may it care also for his morals and his comforts? If it may build him an academy to educate a sound mind, may it build him a gymnasium to develop a sound body? If it build him a gymnasium to train his muscles, may it erect an arena to test his prowess? If it publish police rules and regulations for his conduct, may it establish an ethical college to teach him the foundation of obligation? If it may teach him ethics, may it teach him religion? And may all these things be done at public expense? Here our vessel breaks from its moorings and drifts toward the beautiful but dangerous coast of paternal government. In Glasgow the municipality is a landlord. It not only enters into competition with other landlords, but like any giant of monopolistic tendencies, it drives other landlords out of business. Some of the cheap lodging-houses were immoral. There was a large population of men without families who had to be provided with cheap accommodations. To purify the character of the immoral lodging-houses—a police duty, by the by—and to preserve cheap homes for its poorer bachelor citizens, the city of Glasgow erected comfortable houses where a good room and bed, light, heat, and the privilege of a cooking-stove were furnished at a cost per night of from seven to nine cents in our money, according to accommodations. In that same city and in other cities on the continent, the municipality is engaged in the laundry business. The city owns tubs, steam machinery, mangles, and ironers,



and conducts in several districts a general laundry trade, not merely competing, but actually establishing by its municipal wash lists the price and charges of that particular business enterprise. The thoughtless philanthropist cries, "Splendid!" Yes, splendid, but not the proper employment for government. The same philanthropist applauds the municipal lodging-house plan. He does not consider that these cheap, comfortable, convenient rooms are keeping men in an unmarried and, therefore, in an unnatural state, and, further, that where thousands of men are maintained happily on fifteen or twenty cents per day, — this sum includes lodging and breakfast and supper, — one of two things must come to pass: either this vast army of bachelor laborers will compete with and drive out of the labor market another vast army of married laborers who enjoy none of these cheap comforts, or else this vast army of bachelor laborers will work but one day in the week at the sustained and regular rate of pay, thus earning enough to keep themselves in idleness and at possible mischief the remaining six days. The philanthropist is a blessed being, and we owe to him most of the amelioration of the race, but his mission is to soften and leaven government and not to fashion it.

I realize that we are living at the end of the nineteenth century. I know that the spirit of progress and change is bearing us onward. I behold my fellow beings crowding into cities, leaving behind them the duller life of the hill-side and the plain. Man made the cities, and he has pronounced upon them the commendation, "All very well." But I read history, and it tells me that the woes of the nation have their breeding-place in its great cities. Conveniences lead to comforts, comforts grow to refinements, refinements expand to luxury, and luxury brings decay. The law seems inexorable. It is written not on stone tables, but in the nature of man. The exotic cannot contend with the wind, like the pine. The one is delicate and beautiful, the other is plain but of long life. They will not stand the same conditions. If we turn our cities into hothouses, the sturdy tree will lose its vitality. The common comforts and the free luxuries which have already invited to our cities so large a population of the people of this country, will lure in the coming years and with increased comforts a still larger proportion. One hundred years ago the urban population of this country was only three and one-third per cent of the entire population; to-day it is more than thirty per cent; and in New York State it is over sixty per cent. There are those who admit the tendencies of municipal government to the possession of these luxuries and toward a paternal form of government, but they console themselves with the belief that such a form may be tolerated in the cities and excluded from the greater commonwealth and the nation. What is the nation?

What is the state? Are they not where the people are? And if the majority of the people who live in cities become reconciled to a paternal municipal government, will they decline its temptations and seductions for the government of the state? A man brought up in the city and by the city, nourished by the city, fondled by the city, finding his wants supplied without effort of his own, beholding pleasures and enjoyments provided for his eyes in constant procession, cannot develop the best that is in him. The city says to him, "Keep thy face from sweat; here is bread." I do not care if his mind is full and his body strong. He will not produce men after his former kind. You may breed gladiators at public expense for several generations, but all the science of fist and foot will not avail against the loss of individual freedom and of self-reliance. The history of the turf tells us that it was the rule to infuse into the English racehorse once in three generations the blood, free and pure, of the Arab courser, fresh from his struggle with the sand of the desert and the spaceless wind. It is the law of nature. Struggle, contention, despair, and hope, not against the easy and pleasant things of life, but against the hard things, will make men strong and keep them strong.

I regret that the line of my argument has commanded a somewhat querulous tone. I would not be misunderstood. I believe that the people the most highly educated will be the foremost among the nations of the world, first in the arts, first in the sciences, first in the industries. But I also believe that to maintain that supremacy the nation must require of its citizens individual struggle, individual effort, individual sacrifice.

# THE NATIONAL CONGRESS OF MOTHERS:

## I. AN INSIDE VIEW.

BY ELLEN A. RICHARDSON.

EVERY day letters are coming from different sections of our country asking about the National Congress of Mothers. What about its success? If there is to be another held? When? Where? How can local work become affiliated? How can the isolated neighborhoods benefit by the wisdom which must emanate from such conferences as that which was held in Washington Feb. 17, 18, 19, 1897. Such questions and others continue to pour in, albeit a month and more has passed since this first congress became a thing of history. But it is a part of a living history, which can know no ending until the office of motherhood is banished from off the face of the earth. Though classed among the many movements inaugurated by women, it occupies a unique position, and is in essence the expression of a reaction from many other movements of more radical tendencies.

If it be true that anyone has dared to place motherhood and its duties low down in the scale of values, while every day evolving plans for reconstructing outer conditions, in the natural order of things let such pay respectful attention and give chivalrous esteem to the movement which has at heart the purpose of awakening renewed interest in the responsibilities of motherhood and the duty of parent to offspring.

A year ago, when this Congress was first suggested, the superficial thinker questioned its advisability. The thoughtless could see nothing in the proposition, but thousands of mothers caught a gleam of hope from the prospect of the sympathy and help which could result to them in such a meeting; and when the doors of the Arlington, with its spacious banquet hall for an audience room, swung open to them, it was all too small to accommodate the mothers and the sprinkling of fathers who had believed in the conference and had come from great distances to participate in this movement for a better childhood, a grander manhood and womanhood, — a greater nation! It was soon seen that the aim of the convention was not for regulating the duties of the parents, but for new inspiration to higher ideals, in keeping with the progressive conditions of our advanced civilization, an inspiration which should cherish the highest conception of motherhood and its duties, and help mothers to ponder, in the seclusion of their homes, facts and truths which must be known to be understood and used as signals and as guides.

It was well said in the New York *Sun* :

Liquor-dealers organize. Why? Because they can sell more whiskey. Doctors organize. Why? Because they can fight disease and ignorance when united better than they can single-handed. Manufacturers organize and get assailed from all sides because it results in their invincibility.

Women have organized and organized for all sorts of reform and informing work. But until this movement, notwithstanding they have held mothers' meetings, there has been no definite step on their part to *organize* for becoming better mothers and to shed a new glory on motherhood.

As for men's organizations, the New York *Sun* asks :

Do any of them organize because it will make them better fit to be fathers to the next generation? . . . We see reams of good advice from editors and preachers about what it is to be a good mother, but where, from the university to the business world, does a man learn how to be a good father? And yet it is the basic purpose, the *raison d'être*, of his existence.

It is but just to say that the movement has had a most chivalrous indorsement from many fathers, and was countenanced by the interested presence of many of them during the meetings. The editors of the press throughout the country have given space freely, and most respectful prophecies have been made as to the influence for good which must result to the people as a nation, in this awakening at the hearth of the home of the responsibilities of parenthood.

Among the many inquiries being received, a frequent one is, why limit this conference to the *mother* side of parentage? We as fathers feel an active interest in all these questions, and want to ask if we are welcome to the conclaves. In answer to this we would repeat the words of Mrs. Theodore Birney, the president: "This is not a sex movement, but one in which sons and daughters, fathers and mothers, alike are invited to become interested." The movement *began* as a woman's movement, because she is the priestess of the hearth and holds close in her influence the lives of the children during their most plastic period, the first ten years of life.

Homes are focusing-points for individual efforts. They have also their radiating lines of influence, extending into the ever-widening circles of duties. If the mothers are the priestesses at the hearth, the fathers are the gatekeepers to the extending influences. Mutual understandings should exist between the mothers and fathers, as to both the inner developments and the outer conditions which must be met by the lives growing up around them. The gateways from the hearths out into the life arena of action should be open to both parents, so that a perfect knowledge of the great needs for *characters* should guide those who mould the children to meet the duties of life. Such preparation can

only be gained by individual experience meeting personally the inner and the outer conditions.

Heretofore the "loaf-winner" and the "bread-distributer" have had their lines too definitely *separated*. The promoters of the National Congress of Mothers welcome heartily the call from the few fathers to enter the movement, and the welcome is unbounded, whether they enter as spectators or as participants. There is plenty of room for parents to do all the good they can in their homes, and plenty of time from which three days may be spared once a year to exchange views, arouse ambition, inspire new energies, and revivify such exhausted and despairing workers as *do* exist in every community.

No great upliftment of social conditions can be accomplished except by leavening the whole lump; and there need be no fear that any home will be neglected by the interest called forth once a year by these gatherings, to which one or more delegates will be sent from every community, delegates who can be best spared to attend and bring back a report of the sayings and doings there.

Besides these personal reports, the National Congress intend to publish yearly the addresses and doings of the Convention, which may be had upon application to the National Headquarters 1425, 20th Street, Washington, D. C., at a minimum sum, just enough to cover the cost of publication.

This gathering is not in the least actuated by a love of notoriety. It has no impracticable ideas that constitute the base of so many assemblages. As one writer has said: "There is a great deal more sense in it than in an international monetary conference, for it will result in giving us better men and women." The Congress does not expect to be flawless in its endeavors. What Congress is? It only asks for a suspension of attention to its defects, so long as its motives are unselfish and aspiring.

Fortunately for the projectors of this movement there have been found those whose faith in it is firm. Foremost among these is the first Vice-President, Mrs. Phebe Hearst, who is one of the broadest, most liberal-minded, and generous of women. She has given the movement from the first not only the sanction of her name, but a substantial backing which has made possible all the preliminary work, and insures its unbroken usefulness. Where so many have kindly aided in distinctive ways it seems hardly fair to single out individuals to mention here, but to the names of Mrs. Hearst, who is the godmother to the enterprise, and of Mrs. Theodore Birney, the President, who has conceived and inaugurated in all humility and sincerity its high purpose, this brief allusion may be pardoned.

I believe the varying questions may be further answered best by



presenting the set of resolutions adopted at the close of the three days' session :

*Whereas* : This is the first great National Congress of Women ever gathered about the single idea of maternity and the improvement of the relation of Mother and Child; and *whereas* we desire that the influence of this meeting shall be as far-reaching as possible, wherefore,

*Resolved* : That we indorse the work of the Universal Peace Union, and second the suggestion to the Mothers, instructors, and citizens of America that lessons of peace must first be taught by harmony at the hearth, as embodied in the following

#### SEVEN RULES OF HARMONY.

First, Hereby I promise to make the sacred spirit of peace a living power in my life, and to contribute all the time, thought, and money which I can to its diffusion.

Second, I promise never to listen without a protest to insinuations, vituperations, or unjust accusations against the members of my family and my fellow citizens.

Third, I promise to seek to understand the spirit of the national laws, and to obey those which exist; to interest myself fervently for the modification of all those which uselessly tyrannize upon any class of fellow citizens.

Fourth, I promise to dedicate all my thought and influence to the development of the national and patriotic spirit, and not to criticise without purpose the administration of the family and of the nation.

Fifth, I promise to treat all birds and beasts and all existences of the animal and vegetable world with justness and gentleness, and not to destroy, save for self-preservation and for the protection of the weak. Instead, my object shall be to plant, nourish, and to propagate all that will lead to the moral and physical amelioration of my family, my home, and my nation.

Sixth, I promise to teach to my children and my dependents everything with regard to justice and peace which I shall learn, and to seek to develop in them the sentiments to which I am hereby dedicating myself.

Seventh, I promise to seek each day to utter some word or to perform some little action which may promote the cause of peace, whether at home or abroad.

*Resolved* : That the National Congress of Mothers heartily approve the founding of a National Training School for Mothers, that the women of America may be taught the method for making hygienic homes and for becoming intelligent mothers, — in a word, that they may be taught the laws of health and heredity.

*Resolved* : That we use our influence to encourage legislation in our various States and Territories to secure a kindergarten department in our public schools.

Furthermore, it is recommended that every woman's organization in every State in our Union be invited to cooperate in the establishment of adequate training schools for kindergartners.

*Resolved* : That we will endeavor to exclude from our homes those papers which do not educate or inspire to noble thought and deed, and that our influence will be used to cultivate the public taste so that it will exact from the press and artists that which educates and refines.

We protest against all pictures and displays which tend to degrade men and women or corrupt or deprave the minds of the young, and all advertisements which offend decency.

*Resolved* : That we sympathize in the petition to both Houses of Congress to raise the age of protection for girls to eighteen years at least, in the District of Columbia and the Territories.

*Resolved* : That as we have a National Executive Board, we ask our officers to continue National Headquarters at Washington, D. C., from which a Press Committee shall send out each month to all newspapers agreeing to publish them regularly, articles germane to our objects, and information relative to the progress of the work;

That circulars of information and leaflets setting forth the best methods of work be prepared and furnished at cost to those wishing to purchase them;

That we deem State Organization at present inadvisable, but recommend that the members of this Congress carry home to the respective organizations which sent them, as full a report as possible of the sessions, and strive to make it the inspiration toward the formation of Mothers' or Home Sections in the local organizations already formed, and of Mothers' Clubs outside of already existing associations.

*Resolved:* That the Committee on Resolutions do hereby recommend:

1st, That the National Congress of Mothers hold annual meetings;

2d, That, in order to promote permanent organization and preserve the National character of this movement, the National Congress of Mothers meet *every other year* at the nation's capital, Washington, D. C., the alternate or intermediate Congress to be held at such place as may be hereinafter decided;

3d, That the next National Congress of Mothers be held in Washington, D. C., in the year 1898, the date of meeting to be decided upon by the National Executive Board.

*Resolved:* That the Mothers' Convention has made manifest the earnest desire and determination of the women of our land and elsewhere to give the children committed to their care the advantages of pure thought and high endeavor; therefore, believing that Law is Love, and Love is the highest expression of God, hence the ruling power of the Universe, and that its perversion and prostitution is the sole source of evil, we do, in conclusion, exhort all mothers to a closer walk with our Father and Mother, God, in whose nurture and admonition our children must be brought up if life is ever to be worth living.

*Resolved:* That the members and delegates of the National Congress of Mothers express their cordial appreciation of the hospitality which has been extended to the Congress by the residents of the city of Washington, and return their sincere thanks for the courtesies extended.

The National Congress especially appreciate the reception accorded them by Mrs. Cleveland, who stands before the country as a representative of beautiful Motherhood.

They feel that she in her life has exemplified the principles for which this Congress stands.

To the Lady to whose unbounded hospitality and far-sighted wisdom is due the abundant success of the First National Congress of Mothers, we recognize in her not only the home Mother but the world Mother.

To the Presiding Officer, Mrs. Birney, whose devotion for all mothers brought her across the continent in the continuance of her service to the cause;

To the Vice-Presidents and to the Secretary, Miss Butler, who has so faithfully performed the many duties which devolved upon her;

To the Speakers who have contributed from the wisdom of all science and research, philosophy and experience;

To the Press, which has so fully disseminated the deliberations of this body;

To the Associations which have sent Delegates, and have thus multiplied the influence and efficiency of the National Congress; and

To the great audiences which under the disadvantages entailed upon all by the unexpected numbers in attendance, have preserved the harmony of spirit and the graceful courtesy which has lightened and brightened the labors of all;—

To one and all, the Resolution Committee beg to express for the Congress their congratulations, that the first National Congress of Mothers adjourn to take into their homes the spirit of coöperation in the cause suggested in the call for Congress.

The writer begs to say from the inside of this new movement, that the whole question is intended to be so unbiassed, and free for future and local developments by individual conditions and needs, that its simplicity and breadth cause a seeming vagueness in contrast to the specific lines generally laid down in organization work.

The National Congress of Mothers at Washington holds itself open in a motherly way to each and every effort to carry on the study of life-development as intimately related to the family, recognizing the duties of parents to child. Those at the headquarters in Washington hope to be in communication with all the mothers' clubs, classes, or meetings held anywhere in the world, and to both receive and give advice on all questions germane to parental relations.

Mrs. Adlai Stevenson is quoted as saying in speaking of the project: "At the close of the revolution in France, Madame de Stael put to Napoleon the question: 'What more does France need?' The reply was returned: 'Our country needs mothers, madame; *mothers* to train future citizens.'"

A mother is a mother still,  
The hollest thing alive.

Many noble women whose names are familiar in important work in many fields quickly responded to this call to serve in a Congress of Mothers, bearing strong testimony that they do not regard slightly the duties of motherhood, but hold them as the highest that a woman can perform for the race. Since mothers are held responsible for results, students of sociology of to-day must confess that there is ample and painful evidence that lots of them lack the "know how" to bring up children, except what they learn by experience; and experience is often an unsatisfactory as well as a hard teacher.

This is the opinion of the Providence *News*, commenting upon the conference and giving as nearly as it can grasp the purpose of the Congress in these words:

The National Congress of Mothers seeks to get at the mother direct, to strengthen her, to inspire, to instruct, to enlighten her, and to bring her into intimate associations with varied efforts for making up for what may be lacking in her, if not always impossible to her. Bless her heart! Hers is often a hard row to hoe. Perhaps, if good intentions were backed up by the kind of help the Congress hopes to give, we wouldn't cause her so much trouble as we do; she would find life easier and altogether more satisfactory, we should all be better men and women, and the earth would be made a greatly improved place of residence for well-disposed and enlightened human beings.

A very kind compliment was paid by the Daughters of the American Revolution, who followed the Mothers' Congress immediately with their Continental Congress. One of their number was heard to say: "This is as it should be; the Daughters should follow the Mothers. While we are proud of them, and our aim is to cherish a high regard for all our ancestors, we honor the Mothers for holding the thought that posterity has its claims on us."

The members holding the thought of National Congress acknowledge that, however intellectually science may deal with the duties of Mother-

hood, mother instinct must still be supreme. Instinct and intuition are psychic forces hard to harness into expression by words; therefore the simple and elastic conditions which the founders hope will prevail in the movement known as the National Congress of Mothers.

In adopting the Resolutions the first one is a key to the whole. Instead of indorsing or legislating upon any of the many excellent movements intended to correct conditions, the Mothers' Congress extends sympathy to such, and merely recommends individual influence *at the hearth* of home, on all lines which make for harmony, truth, and usefulness.

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ADDENDUM BY HONORABLE JOHN W. HOYT.

MRS. ELLEN A. RICHARDSON,

*Dear Madam,* — By way of congratulating those who were responsible for its inauguration, I am moved to say a few words concerning the impression made upon me by the late National Congress of Mothers.

As a conception it was evidently the outgrowth of conscious needs, on the one hand, and of the encouragement afforded by the modern use of the convention for the advancement of all sorts of reforms, on the other. I say conscious needs, knowing well how deep on the part of thoughtful women has ever been the realization of the multiform hindrances which have encompassed and which still hamper and oppress even the best circumstanced of mothers everywhere. Until recently these have been the subject of private discussion, with very partial resort to any established educational agencies. But the public conference, the convention, and finally the congress have so become the fashion in recent years as at last to have gained for women the admitted right not only to convene for common ends, but to be publicly heard in their own behalf without challenge from any quarter.

The preëminence of the cause represented by this congress of mothers is beyond question. Important as they seem to be and are, the thousand and one other interests so zealously and vigorously championed on convention platforms, whether social or political, are chiefly limited to things which pertain to either locality, class, or period; but the cause of motherhood is as wide as the world, embracing the welfare, both temporal and spiritual, of the whole human race, in all generations. In other words, the material, intellectual, and moral interests of mankind, as referred to human agencies, are fundamentally dependent on the capability, opportunity, and supreme loyalty of mothers. It is therefore a cause in the highest sense sacred. And, accordingly, to give to mothers everywhere a just realization of these vital truths is a first and most

solemn duty of those who, being of them, are also able to represent them.

The conduct of this first congress ever convened with these high ends in view was admirable. There were two or three papers which might have been omitted without loss, and yet more attention could have been given to the profoundest of underlying principles. But it is hardly too much to say that the proceedings were in full keeping with the ends themselves. Indeed, after much observation of conventions of many kinds in this and other lands, I feel justified in awarding to it the palm on every count. Its distinguished personnel, including so large a number of the noblest and most eminent women of America; the exceeding dignity, solemnity, and orderly manner of its proceedings; the high character of the work done, day by day; the profound interest manifested therein by the general public; and the manner in which it was made to take hold upon the future—all these combined gave to it a preëminence which commanded the admiration and kindled the enthusiasm of all observers, while awakening highest hopes for the success of the great movement so auspiciously begun.

Respectfully,

JOHN W. HOYT.

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## II. AN OUTSIDE VIEW.

BY FREDERICK REED.

"O mater pulchra, pulchrior filia!" — *Horace*.

In this day of multitudinous clubs, unions, and guilds generally, wherein lies the justification for another organization, especially since this new union must be made up of women, nearly every one of whom is already a member of some association whose motives and aims would seem to cover all possible desiderata in the life of another? *A priori* there would seem to be no purpose which could not easily be subserved by organizations already in existence, or, at least, by a slight extension of the purposes already operative in such organizations.

Yet no thoughtful person could have been present at the sessions of the National Congress of Mothers, recently held in this city [Washington], without being impressed that a felt need was being met, a hunger fed, a longing satisfied, which had waited for the moment of fulfilment. One had but to look into the faces of that great assemblage to be convinced that then, for the first time in their lives, the mother hearts there beating had formed a sympathetic contact fulfilling the unspoken, often unspeakable, longings of a lifetime.

Although one of Washington's largest churches, with a seating capacity of about 1,500, proved inadequate to accommodate the women



who came to attend the various sessions ; notwithstanding the fact that overflow meetings were held, wherein the speakers on the regular programme in the church delivered the same address to a second audience patiently waiting in an auditorium near by ; in spite of the fact that even this extra provision did not meet the demands of all who would hear, so that the classrooms of the church were occupied by small groups eagerly discussing some topic under the guidance of a leader chosen impromptu, — in the face of all this, it was perfectly evident that the numbers attracted to this Congress were not its most striking feature.

No, there was a something lying far deeper than the phenomenal attendance, deeper even than the enthusiastic applause which greeted the speakers ; a somewhat by its unbounded power defying definition and refusing to be limited to the terms of human speech. What subtle power was it which, with irresistible magnetism, drew these women not only from all parts of our own country, but from foreign lands as well ? What interests or promises or hopes attracted these busy women over many miles to this union, — Jew and Gentile, Scythian, bond and free, all speaking in one tongue ? In the answer to this question lies the especial significance of this epoch-making Congress of Mothers.

What is the evident purpose of each society in the vast majority of combinations of individuals into societies ? Has it not been for mutual protection, disregarding the interests of all other individuals outside of the particular union ? Precisely the same motive, consciously, which underlies non-consciously — if we may coin the word — the combinations of animals, more or less complete, for the sole purpose of protection. A much smaller number of existing associations have for their real purpose, whether avowed or not, the crushing out of the weaker individual or association, and the consequent repletion of the stronger. Many religious and philanthropic organizations, even, long ago overstepped the bounds of emulation and entered the doubtful fields of competition, the character of many of whose methods, however, is in not the least doubt.

But, whatever may be said — must be said — of the objects and immediate results of such organizations, one fact is indisputable : men could not come together, even for the most unworthy purposes, without bearing witness thereby to a common somewhat, an omnipresent quality, which furnishes the cement, so to speak, to hold them together despite their many differences. We say “without bearing witness to an omnipresent quality.” By this we do not mean that the individual members of such a union consciously recognize the common quality. It is only the careful student who looks below the surface for the causes of surface effects. Every coming together, therefore, of individuals is another confession, mute though it be, of the inherent oneness of all humanity.

and not only of all humanity, but of all things in the universe. Heretofore the recognized community of interests in one society has been considered as inconsistent with, if not inimical to, the recognized community of interests in another society. This mistake—for mistake it surely is—arises, no doubt, from the superficial character of those interests to protect which, or to enlarge which, the association has been formed. Now for the first time a community of interest has been recognized as the basis of association, fundamental in its character. Now a principal of universal application has consciously been made the basis of a union which really, though not consciously and avowedly, embraces all living things.

In these closing years of a wonderful century, men's vision has cleared sufficiently to get a partial glimpse of the fountain-head, Motherhood!—a word whose very impotency scarcely better than obscures the profoundest truth ever dawned upon man's consciousness! When man has exhausted effort in his attempt to express in intelligible, communicable form his innate conception of that fecund force out of which all things are sprung, does he not end with that symbol which to him means "mother,"—"Earth, the Mother" of us all, as she upon whom the stumbling Greek at the Apollo's shrine bestowed the fatal kiss?

Yes, even in its present limited sense, and with its present shortened application, motherhood is the one fact recognized as the fundament of all society. As is the mother, so is the offspring, and so the society which they compose. No opposing interests here; no interests in one group inconsistent with those of another. No need of association for protecting motherhood against motherhood! Motherhood has no profit to wrench from the reign of motherhood! The interest of motherhood here is equally the interest of motherhood there. What advances her standards now must advance them hereafter. Now, at last, all men are agreed. "Let us know," they cry, "what will give us a higher, a better, a stronger, a purer motherhood. Let us know this, and we can put aside for the moment the minor matters for which we have a diversity. Let us set at rights the principal thing, and subordinates and corollaries will fall into line naturally and inevitably! Let us clear out the fountain, and the issuing stream must of necessity be pure!"

This, then, was the most striking feature of a gathering with no precedent in history. This it was which gave its deepest significance to a congress gravid with blessings for the future. This it is which compels the faith—it is almost knowledge—that men are at last awakening, slowly but very surely, to those duties upon whose faithful fulfilment rests the permanent betterment of the race, and with whose

neglect humanity must inevitably retrace her toilsome steps. But the existence of this National Congress of Mothers makes this latter impossible. It has come in order to insure the former. Consciousness once awake cannot sleep again! Its sacred office will never be laid down until it be fulfilled! The noble women of this Mothers' Congress have proclaimed throughout the broad earth the doom of accidental and enforced maternity! Lust and sense-gratification in the marriage relation have received the earnest of their mortal wound! The ransom of the defrauded right to be well born has been begun! These valiant mothers have heralded throughout the broad earth that those divinely bestowed powers shall be no longer prostituted.

He who, thoughtful, sat day after day and looked into the fervid countenances and glistening eyes of the choicest of our nation's women; he who listened unwearied hour by hour to those ringing tones sounding out of the depths of bitter experience; he who felt that which could not be seen or heard—that undefined and indefinable heart-purpose; such a one was hushed and awed as in the presence of a power irresistible, the presage of a worldwide conquest.

In that assemblage hundreds caught their first vision of a better way leading up to a holier maternity, and the vision, though faint perhaps, was treasured in the inner chamber of the life which its ever-crescent glory shall some day illumine as the temple of a God. "Can it be," the question sprang to the lip, "that this creative power is mine to bestow when, and where, and how I will? Is there within me that carseing power which can mould the fruit of my tree of life to its divinest ideal? Have I at my own command a force which, like a flaming two-edged sword, if I but wield it valiantly, will protect my offspring from all harm?" No voice was given to these outbursts of the heart! Their sound entered into no human ears! But he who was sensitively attuned vibrated sympathetically and caught the harmony which, in time of fulfilment, shall fill the earth.

Aye! a better, a holier day is dawning! With the assembling of this Congress the angels came to the tomb wherein lies their crucified Lord, and their continued efforts must roll away the stone, for the ascension of this Divine Creator, sleeping, not dead, within every human heart. The inspired women shall unloose the grave-clothes of ignorance and self-gratification which have so long bound the essential Christ of Creation. Their glad part it shall be first to "see their risen Lord." Theirs the joyful privilege to take their husbands and brothers by the hand and lead them to view the discarded and worthless ceremonies which theretofore had only served to hide the Infinite which all the while had slumbered, unfruitful, within them! Oh! shall not the angels in heaven sing when these blessed women shall at last reveal the Divine Self ascended in glory of his creative power?

## WHY THE PEOPLE ARE "SHORT."<sup>1</sup>

BY HON. H. S. PINGREE,  
*Governor of Michigan.*

THE general situation reminds me of a keeper of a boarding-house who had a colored gentleman as a boarder who was afflicted with an empty pocket-book. He called him on the carpet one day and told him he couldn't board him any longer. The boarder asked him why, and the landlord replied that he couldn't afford it. "Well," said the dardy, "why the debbil don't you sell out to somebody that can?" I am sorry to say there are too many people in this position to-day. Wealth can be produced in but one way. It must come from the application of human labor to the bounties of nature. Wealth must come from the soil of the earth or from things valuable found in the earth. National wealth is so produced. In this respect this country has been fortunate. Nature, untouched by man's hands, had the bounteous stores for our increasing population. The soil was fertile, the mines of coal, iron, and minerals were as originally formed.

Our population was recruited from that class in Europe which was used to labor and eager, under the new conditions in which they found themselves, to work faithfully. For a long series of years this country gained immensely in wealth. In the thirty years from 1860 to 1890 the *per-capita* valuation increased, in round numbers, from three hundred dollars per person to over one thousand dollars per person.

Our manufactories increased yearly. But for manufacturers there is needed capital. We borrow from Europe a large proportion of the capital needed, upon which and for other purposes we pay annually for interest a sum of over five millions in gold. This sum is absolutely lost to us as a nation, and yet it should not be necessary for us to borrow from others than our own people.

Under the new conditions of commerce and manufactures coöperation is essential. No one man has sufficient capital to carry on the large enterprises of to-day. Therefore coöperation has become the order of the day, and we have corporations in which many contribute each a small amount. But the business methods of our corporations have been so dishonest that our own people do not feel safe to invest their earnings in them. Our laws are lax and encourage dishonesty. If people with small means felt safe to loan their money to or take stock in corporations, and were properly protected by law from those on

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<sup>1</sup> An Argument before the Commercial Club of Boston, Mass., March 16, 1897.

the ground floor, we should not have to borrow in Europe, and this tremendous sum could be kept at home. It is interest that is eating up the wealth of this nation. We all know what interest can do. Had Columbus placed one hundred dollars at interest at four per cent compounded as in a savings bank, the year he discovered America, he would to-day have been able to draw his check for fifty-eight billion dollars, or almost the wealth of the United States. With one dollar loaned at six and one-half per cent, which per cent is not unusual here in Boston, he could to-day have paid each man, woman, and child in the United States about fourteen thousand dollars.

The opportunities to amass immense fortunes by methods not strictly moral have been so great in the past twenty years, that the possession of great wealth has become a mania with us. Our reputation for honesty as a nation has suffered severely in Europe, and as a consequence they charge us more for money, and the interest upon what money we borrow is greater than it should be. Yet as a nation we are not dishonest. A limited number have been permitted to play ducks and drakes with our credit and have become dangerously wealthy. For a wealthy man with no moral principle is a dangerous man in the state. We have a few of that kind in Detroit,—men who want valuable franchises for nothing, and whose entire time is occupied in bribing and corrupting aldermen and city officials to give them something which belongs to the people, and which gift may then be bonded for a few millions and sold again at a profit to some "innocent holder." I say let the States reform their corporation laws, as I am told you have done here in Massachusetts, so that the small holder is protected, and you need not send to Europe to borrow money, and this tremendous interest charge will stay at home.

It is said that what this country needs is confidence. I agree with this; the country needs confidence in the business methods of our large concerns, and money to carry them on will soon be forthcoming. The best place to begin to build up confidence in us as a nation, is to begin to reform our municipal governments. Honesty must be our motto, and confidence will come. I believe that all manufacturers in the West are thinking alike on the question of prices. Prices are at a standstill, and a rise or fall awaits the rise or fall of farm products. Manufacturers of the West are waiting. Large blocks of their customers are out of employment. They do not see clearly that employment will offer soon. But should it offer next summer, a great deal of it being discounted, it will be a year at least before these customers of ours can catch up. Even when we reach the expectancy of the turning-point there will still be something that must be removed to hasten it.



We have been having bad times, and they are still with us. Yet we pay as big salaries to public servants in bad times as in good times. The gentleman who has been serving in the capacity of president through the bad times drew fifty thousand dollars every year. And, by the way, that is said to be the identical amount of shortage which President Washington charged to profit and loss at the end of his two terms. Things, as you will perceive, are somewhat changed. It is the people and not the president who are short in modern times.

Perhaps this is a part of the so-called progress of a nation. But if the United States keep on in this line of evolution, or rather of retrogression, we may in time return to our original happy condition of indifference to boots and shoes. I say in all seriousness that public expenditure is severely felt. Our prices may fluctuate, but taxation is steadfast. The condition of the farmers of the West is not good. When I see the prices of farms fall I begin to think of working down the prices of boots and shoes. I wish that I had the power, at the same time, to work down public expenditure. But large bodies must move slowly. And of all large bodies the great body of tax-eaters is the slowest to respond to pressure and at the same time the quickest to respond to the dinner-horn. Were trade and taxation a double thermometer you would see trade — boots and shoes inclusive — at the zero point while taxation is still at ninety degrees in the shade. If you are not foolish, do not talk of economy to the friend of the wealthy man. And do not mention salaries in the presence of officials or of doctors of divinity, unless you mean to raise them.

I say to you men of Boston that trade's customers must be taxed only in due proportion to their earnings. You have a wise man here in the East who says that railroads should be taxed only upon gross earnings. This means that the railroad tax should take a sliding-scale in proportion to the volume of business. I accept it; but I would apply the method to all. His rule has been in force in Michigan for many years. There the railroads have been taxed and are still taxed upon gross earnings. And with this result: the farmers, the producers of Michigan, have paid four times their proportion of taxation compared with the railroads. The farmers have no sliding-scale. These farmers are the customers of the manufacturers, and the unequal tax restricts our market. I always like to see my customers in good financial condition.

I am obliged to throw one grave doubt upon the gross-earnings system of taxation. Under this system the railroads assess themselves. The assessor can find out what a farmer owns. But he cannot verify the reported gross earnings of a railroad. I do not know but what Charles Francis Adams is right. But Mr. Adams's conclusions differ from my own experience. They tell me that Mr. Adams is an advocate

of the taxation of the gross earnings of railroads as a system. And I am surprised that anybody in the East advocates an income tax, for a tax on gross earnings is an income tax. I suppose, however, that everybody would be satisfied with an income tax, as the railroads of Michigan are, providing that, like those railroads, they had no other tax to pay, and that the bulk of taxation was thus shifted upon others.

Railroads are not anxious to show their books. I tried one time to get the street railroads of Detroit to show up. I told them that, if they gave me free access to their books in order to ascertain the cost of construction, cost of rolling stock, cost of maintenance, and cost of operation, I would allow any rate of fare for a generous profit. They refused. I then asked the circuit court to oblige them to show up, and the court refused. I take the position that the public are partners in all systems of transportation, and as partners have a right to know all. Transportation is not a private business by any means.

If the gross-earnings system is right for railroads, it ought to be right for all classes. If the gross earnings of railroads are accepted without investigation, as they always have been, then whatever the farmer says his gross earnings may be must be accepted with like trustfulness. But this is not business, and we all know it. The only way is to assess all alike, and under some equitable method. All I want to do with transportation in Michigan in the way of taxation is to have it pay its share in due proportion to values. I want to see fair play for my customers — and, incidentally, for yours.

I dare say you have heard and read of the wild slashing of railroads by your humble servant in the way of rates of fare. Here are the facts in brief: In Michigan for many years some of the roads have been operating under what is called the general railroad act. Others under old special charters. Some, under the general railroad act, are confined to a fare of two cents per mile. Those under the old special charter are taking three cents per mile. This condition of affairs existed long before I expected to become Governor. You may inquire if these differences were caused by density of population through which the various railroads run? And I answer, not at all. The fact is, the Chicago & Grand Trunk, whose local fares are two cents per mile, runs through less population than the Michigan Central, whose local fares are three cents per mile. The president of the Michigan Central says that, if you compare the fares in the densely populated East with Michigan-Central fares, you will find that the Michigan Central is entitled to double the fare charged. If that is so there must be something wrong in the East. But it is over a fourth of a century ago since the Michigan-Central fare was established, with the consent of the company, when there was the population of the present time tributary to this rail-

road. Talk about the density of population is in the nature of rubbish. The business fact is, that any railroad which is only making expenses, or less, has only one recourse to make money, and that is to lower rates. And stockholders and bondholders ought to know it. Were this plain business principle put in force, there would be no such thing as a receiver if managers were honest. We do not run the boot-and-shoe business on the perpetual high-price system, because we do not sell watered stocks.

The fall in railroad passenger rates has not come down, however, with the fall in other prices. In 1865, when I left Boston for Detroit, it cost me \$19.25, first-class ticket. Yesterday it cost me \$17.65 to come here from Detroit, only about eight per cent cheaper. A pair of shoes which sold in 1865 for \$4.50 now sells for \$2.25, a cheapening of fifty per cent. The cheapening of material and labor which go into a pair of shoes has not been greater than the cheapening of material and labor which go into the construction or maintenance of a railroad. Railroad rates are indirect taxes levied upon commerce contributed by the many to enrich the few. Just so long as the foolish capitalists of the East persist in buying watered stock, just so long will your customer in the West remain too poor to buy your manufactured goods. And I sincerely trust that the time will soon arrive when the purchase of watered stock will be regarded in the same light as highway robbery.

So positive am I that plain business does not enter into the conduct of railroads that I would venture to guarantee the best returns on the stocks and bonds of our Michigan railroads, even to the present limit of watered stocks, if the railroads were operated on half the present rates. The earning capacity of the railroads of Michigan is not half developed in consequence of unbusinesslike charges and methods. Where the earning capacity of railroads is not fully developed it has an evil effect upon the earnings of the State. And as a consequence there are less boots and shoes worn. But all I am after in Michigan is to proceed upon the lines laid down by the action of my predecessors. I act upon the principle that no business shall get ahead of my business, if I can help it. I want all to have a fair share. But I see where shrewd corporations are getting more than their share. I do not want to see my customers taxed poor. I want to see them wear more boots and shoes — especially shoes. I know I have the sympathy of all manufacturers except some who are getting a bigger rake-off by connection with some unreasonably protected corporation.

Speaking about protection puts me in mind. We all want protection. But do we get it? Even when the tariff is raised? In order to get it we must watch transportation rates. Under a decision of the United States court we are partly at the mercy of transportation. A

case was brought at New Orleans some time ago, and the facts, as disclosed, showed that the railroads carried boots and shoes at different rates to San Francisco. For boots and shoes and other merchandise manufactured at New Orleans, or sold by jobbers there, the rate to San Francisco was \$3.07 per hundred. But for imported boots and shoes and other merchandise of similar class the rate was \$1.07. The Supreme Court sustained this method of transportation. I do not know the reasons for it. I do not care to know them. My care is to point out that the principle or expedient of national protection is defeated in part by the decision. But if there is to be international reciprocity of rates of transportation we ought to know something of it; and so should Congress to regulate it properly. We have abolished the lottery, and we are engaged in stamping out the common kind of gambling; but the higher forms of gambling are untouched.

Taxation must be placed on those who can bear it, or there is an end to successful business. Our customers are loaded down with taxation. From extortionate rates of fares, freights, and charges of all kinds, computed by the companies, down to the oleomargarine spread on bread, the evil descends, increasing as it goes in an enormous burden of excessive indirect taxation. And the far greater share of such taxation goes to the increased concentration of private wealth and not to the public benefit. The tariff operates to the manufacture of consumers. We have a land that can fully support at least ten times the present population. In the interest of manufacturers I say that sound business should not be silent in the face of gambling methods. Manufacturers should be active as against the imposition of unjust taxation either direct or indirect upon their customers. All of our higher political efforts have been along the line of the manufacture of consumers. But we have stood idly by when those consumers have been fleeced by stock and bond jobbing. We have stood idly by when transportation has levied blackmail, and when State legislatures have imposed excessive rates of fares and freights, and when common councils of cities have been parties to open robbery of the men and women who are our customers, and when wealth escaped taxation.

Western cities have suffered through reaction from speculative investments in suburban lands. Banks advanced money freely for this purpose, and some of them have been obliged to scale down stock in consequence. No small sum has thus been concentrated in the hands of a few of the speculators. Speculation also entered the industrial field, to the manifest injury of the industries themselves. I speak of speculation in the sense of the unsound or hazardous, not in the sense of legitimate prospective demand for necessary use. All that has ceased; but its effects are still apparent. It drew money into a few hands,

which is slow of regaining circulation. Money is now willing to go into only legitimate business, but business is slow in gathering itself, because so many people cannot afford the actual necessities. Seemingly as if to adjust itself to current conditions opinion is prevalent that all will be well when weak branches are lopped off. There is a disposition to confide in the doctrine of the survival of the fittest. This carries the supposition that the fittest will have no opposition until they are making more money than they ought to make. That would be the natural course.

But we see that the natural course of business is obstructed by trusts. They have provided an artificial business. They stand in relation to free business as toll-gates to free travel, — with this difference: they hold the power to raise the tolls. They lower at competition. They raise in its absence. When profits introduce competition, they lower to wear it out. If, therefore, as opinion seems to claim, the current trend of slow liquidation is to proceed to the survival of the fittest, who can say that the survivors will not become allies of the trusts? I have no faith in the law that seeks to provide punishment for those engaged in monopolizing business, as a remedy for the wrong. If ordinary competition proves helpless, and statutory law must be the resort, that law can only be of avail which provides competition as against trusts. If trusts are superior to the State and national laws, which are of practical operation as against others, the authorities of the State or nation, representing a people injured by such trusts, will be finally forced into competitive business to compel monopolists to respect their representative powers. Control, like equity, is a good thing if you can get it, and no way should be left untried to secure it; but it is a very difficult thing to get into working order.

We only remember our customers in a vague way. Yet we have it in our hands to protect them. I mean the customers that consume the goods, those who make the final payment, the great body of people who wear boots and shoes. We are all borrowers more or less, and those from whom we borrow should have their proper recompense. But those from whom we borrow are in the same boat with ourselves.

Our customers, therefore, are our reliance for support and for credit, since if they fail us, we fail. Our credit must be maintained. The man without customers has no credit. We talk about markets in big words. But our customers are our markets. I think sometimes we are a little bit cowardly. But cowardice can take refuge either in conservatism or radicalism. Fair play is always brave. Let us try fair play. Our customers need it. For corporations and for manufacturers the cunningest thing is to be honest.



## TRADE UNIONS UNDER THE SOLONIC LAW.

BY HON C. OSBORNE WARD,

*Interpreter to the Department of Labor, Washington, D. C.*

PARALLEL with events which occurred among the great Aryan and Semitic races of mankind, portrayed in history, which has choicely depicted the deeds of the rich and the great in power and influence, there is a dark side whose importance, little known or recognized, has always been felt and is now being considered worthy of record.

This new phase of history gained its germ of growth and popularity from Adam Smith, who proved that labor is the basis of the wealth of nations and the first economic factor of political economy. The world which was surprised at his announcement, finds itself again surprised at the growth of the claims of the laborer, who has been humbly carrying upon his unhonored shoulders the ponderous task which made the history of kings and queens, their wars and their conquests, a possibility. These have had their Polybius, their Thucydides, their Livy, and numberless other historians, while the creator of their means of glory and renown has remained without a recognition. Suddenly in our late century this discovery, that labor was all the time the basis of so much, is opening the minds of other thinkers and writers; and these are now busy researching into the life and values of the great laborer, referred to by Adam Smith, who was eschewed, and whose creations were appropriated by the happier ones, leaving him unwritten and unmentioned in the pages of those who sought favors belonging to power. The grounds upon which this new parallel in history is being built are the jottings that here and there protrude through the beetling cliffs and the miry lowlands of time.

It is my desire to present in this paper some of the authentic and most prominent historical elements of this contemporaneous unknown man, who has worked in the presence of his more fortunate neighbor, created the wealth of nations, and made the fame and the history of the great, but who too often received as his recompense, slavery, dishonor, and repudiation.

### THE EGYPTIAN SIDE.

Amasis II of Egypt required, on pain of death, that all the people should give an account, in some sort of yearly census, of how they got their living; and Herodotus declares that Solon, who knew Amasis personally, established the same law at Athens. The law included the

right, and probably a command, to organize; and census agents had but to go to the rolls of membership or the club meetings and obtain from the officers the material for their schedules.

Certain hieroglyphs recently deciphered also show that Egypt gave the right of organization for economic purposes to working people, and required of them that they should inscribe the doings of their unions on stone and wooden tablets. This method, originally serving for the census reports, explains the curious habit of the ancient inscriptions. Proof has been deciphered that the unions of the Egyptian working people existing at the time the monuments were constructed, had successful strikes for better wages and conditions. Scholars are now searching among the Egyptian writings for more evidence. When the fragments are all compiled and published it will be seen that these organizations were a social power in Egypt as early as the time of Moses, and that their members, though slaves, dared quarrel with the Pharaohs for better food and treatment. In Philo's time they were numerous, stretching up the Nile as far as the island of Philæ, and were not without a philosophy and a literature; while their influence upon the new civilization budding in Palestine was felt not only on the Nile, but in Asia Minor.

#### THE GREEK SIDE.

Every evidence corroborates the belief that the great *jus coeundi* of Solon was the Egyptian law which Herodotus says Solon promulgated in Athens. It was conspicuously engraved upon a large tablet and placed in the Prytaneum, that celebrated democratic townhall where the officials had their common meals at public expense. Indeed, the old Prytaneum was the natural place for it; for the Solonic organization had a common table and a communal code. Solon's law applied to all Greek-speaking people who depended upon physical and mental effort for a living. This great edict, or statute, gave the right of free combination to at least nine trades; and in those simpler times nine occupations, with their ramifications, engrossed the industries of agriculture and of mechanics, the shipping and boating business, even the corsair traffic; and it covered the great fields of pedagogy and of entertainment, including music, fortune-telling, sorcery, astrology, the races, and the theatre. Asia Minor, Palestine, and much of southeastern Europe were its fields, and there are evidences of its having thrived beyond the Euphrates.

One branch, having charge of entertainments, was a truly international federation of labor. It is distinctly known by its peculiar inscriptions, which are very numerous. Böckh was the archæologist who first characterized it as the "great society." After him, Lüders, the epigraphist for the academy of inscriptions of Vienna, and now consul-

general for Austria stationed at Athens, wrote an almost amazing description of them in his book on the artists of Dionysus. Foucart had preceded him in his Latin work on the Greek-speaking scenic tradesmen, while Mommsen's similar Latin work on the *collegia* explains the nature of its branches in Italy. Mauri, Oehler, Cagnat, and others have published descriptions of them. It was a vast union or federation of brotherhoods. Their principal centre was in the Doric Hexiod. They worshipped the god Dionysus, the martyr who gave up his life for the common people, and whose spirit was believed to be hovering in loving watchfulness, as protector of labor and the fruits of the earth. He was least of seven gods of this name mentioned in the ancient theogony. The members were not aristocratic enough to pass the rigid scrutiny of the *dokimasia*, and were excluded from membership in the state official religion. They could not swear, like Demosthenes or Hadrian, that for seven consecutive years they had not been obliged to perform manual toil. They were of the outcast family of mankind. They could perform labor and sell its products to those citizens and aristocrats, but could never become fully recognized citizens themselves. This is a distinctive feature of their history. So they manufactured, composed, taught, and managed entertainments for others, only for the recompense due their genius and skill, which were sometimes brilliant and powerful. It is now admitted by experts engaged in deciphering the inscriptions they have left, that they arrived at a high eminence in art.

Among the newly discovered monuments which are fixed by the professors of the academies of science to the credit of these Dionysan artists, are three inscriptions of written music. These completely overthrow the aged belief that the ancients did not write music. In a recent visit to the scenes of these discoveries, I received much new information through personal interviews with many of the savants, notably with MM. Foucart, Cagnat, and Théodore Reinach, members of the French Academy. The national school of inscriptions at the palace of the Institute detailed M. Reinach to work out the new musical finds from Tralles and Delphi. Tralles, in Lydia, was one of the seats or central abodes of what Böckh, managing archæologist of the Body of Greek Inscriptions (*Corpus Inscriptionum Græcarum*) compiled by the Berlin Academy, called the "Great Dionysan Federation." The piece is inscribed on a tombstone. It is an epitaph in poetry on death, with the music set to the words. The deceased was a rich or well-to-do resident of Tralles; and as the artists held at that time — about B. C. 100 — the almost supreme control of the labor market, it was doubtless composed for him and at his request by the Dionysan artists. M. Reinach, who published a key to the musical powers of certain hitherto incom-

prehensible characters not belonging to the Greek alphabet, has written a description of this so-called *seikilos*, found at Tralles.

Ancient Greek music was written in a straight line, and not in a scale by ascending and descending tones. There were many characters, each of a different power, and the tone was known by the shape rather than the position of the note.

Scientists of the Athenian School, who are conducting extensive excavations under the auspices and at the expense of the French government, a couple of years ago found at Delphi a hymn to Apollo, with both music and words. This strange literature is legibly engraved on a 23 by 28 inch marble tablet set in the pronaos of the great temple of Apollo, and may have been the hymn chanted by the Pythian priestess when in her mephitic trance. This inscription was published in 1894, and is called the first find. Some account of it was given in the newspapers at the time.

Last year another discovery was made at Delphi. It is that of a second hymn to Apollo, which is creating an extraordinary interest. It was not fully heliographed, analyzed, and given to the world until this year. The impressions, together with the analysis made by MM. Reinach and Weil, are given in heliograph. When I saw him, M. Reinach had finished his wonderful work of bringing out the types and tropes of the music, and I obtained from his hand some rare copies. He assured me that I could not get an original print of this curiosity even from the king of Greece, because the government of France holds a monopoly of its own excavations, where these results are obtained by it with great labor and expense. The instrumentation is not given, although there can be no doubt that the hands which elaborated the air here given were capable of inscribing the instrumental accompaniments.

The Dionysan federated artists chiselled many tablets showing that they possessed fine musical schools, in some of which competitive prizes were awarded. Terms applied by them to the various teachers, musical instruments, forms of poetry, and value of prizes are made familiar. Various prizes were striven for by the young musicians studying as amateurs, notably boys belonging to families of the wealthy, desiring this accomplishment to complete their education. Listed records of these prizes bring to our knowledge more than twenty, legibly detailed on a slab. No. 3,088 of the C. I. G. of the Berlin Academy contains a list of the prizes successfully competed for at the synod of Teos. The Delphic international federation of actors and musicians, organized under the Solonic law, also contested for prizes. According to MM. Weil, Reinach, and Crusius, the two Delphic hymns to Apollo referred to were produced by the Dionysan artists, after the

conquest of Greece by the Romans, or during the latter half of the second century before Christ.

These organizations also practised sorcery, and made a study of numerous arts of innocent deception common in those days. There were branches of them, members of which wandered about the country picking up a living by all sorts of fortune-telling, drolleries, and vagabondage. They were the original fakirs who mumbled and deceived under the cloak of religion. Lucian, who could not bear deception, declared that their members deserved a sound whipping. These practices of people organized to obtain a living, and evidently profiting out of the right granted by the law of Solon, found religion an excellent shield behind which to ply their various arts of wonderworking. Numerous inscriptions, and frequent mention of this by writers of their times, are being looked up and noted. Before they became christianized they frequently imposed upon the credulous, and even resorted to debauchery and abuse of morals. There is now an abundant chain of evidence establishing a long suspected point, that these habits and customs were denounced by the apostles who early went among them, and that they were condemned by them as abominations. Such was the character of society at large in those days, however, that immoralities like those practised by the organizations were not considered to be of much importance until they came to be anathematized by the missionaries from Palestine, who planted the more refined culture among them. A study of this delicate subject reveals historical matter of great weight, showing the causes of Paul's troubles, so long known, yet so little understood. Advocating in theory almost the same principles — such as one God; equality of mankind; abolition of slavery; the principle of love instead of hatred; the socialism of the family as a microcosm of the state; an immovable belief in a Saviour; periodical choice of officers; marriage with one partner; schools and educational facilities; universal brotherhood; steadfast practice by the communities of a democratic ballot; piety, truthfulness, and goodness as sworn requisites of membership; the meals of the members partaken at the communal table, and the identical nomenclature for officers, establishments, and functions which are familiar to us in the congregations of to-day; — all these tend to simplify objections and clear away the mysteries which have puzzled Dr. Lightfoot and other learned commentators. Did this identity of their role on earth make them open their hearts and their temples to the good emissaries from Jerusalem? Yes.

But when they were bidden to reform from their long-time habits of making a living by their various arts, whether of image-making, as demonstrated in the story of Demetrius, and, later, in the great polemics with the iconoclasts, or professional, as shown in the quarrels at Corinth,



where, when required to abandon their hideous abominations in the worship of the Kotytto-Cybele, mother of the One God Dionysus, there was rebellion and trouble. It interfered with their getting a living! Still, when they saw Paul patiently dividing his time between tent-making by day and teaching by night, they loved him. He was a tent- and scene-maker — *scenopoios*. If we are to believe his own words, he would accept nothing he did not work and pay for.

At Corinth, Philippi, Puteoli, and Rome the mellow ground of many a trade union, then called *hetæra* and *collegium*, was dug up anew, and its fruits were recultivated and improved from temple to church. The letters of Pliny and Trajan are Roman history. These men were personal friends, and the latter had made Pliny governor of Bithynia. A rescript ordered persecution, even to death, of those who would not attend and bring money for the sacrifices for the official religion. Formerly the unions did this in order to be on good terms with the greater official temples, and consequently with the state religion, which was a part of the government of Rome. They received, on their own part, great numbers of orders for work, which their artificers performed at good living wages. To refuse attendance was rebellion against the Roman law, punishable with death.

This simple explanation, in fact, accounts for the great persecutions; and when better understood it will clear away the clouds of wonderment at the fact that many of the persecuting emperors were full of tender emotions toward the objects of their alleged rage. Such emotions are known to have broken at least one emperor's heart. But the law must be obeyed. Pliny, who was kind of heart, saw the deficit in the treasury; but on probing the members, found them so "pious, truthful, and good," that his feelings rebelled against carrying out the law, and he wrote down his sentiments to the emperor, openly calling them Christians four times in his letter, which accurately describes both the tenets and the men of those ancient brotherhoods. The answer is pitiful. The money must be forced into the treasury; and Trajan, seemingly in his tears, tells him so. So poor Pliny tortures and kills a number, forces the rest back to the old attendance and purchase of sacrifices, and tells us how much money was realized by such compulsory cruelty. But his heart was won by them; for we again find him begging the emperor, and this time for the paltry privilege of organizing a *hetæra*, or union, of smiths, promising that no more than one hundred and fifty should be initiated. The emperor, in refusing, bids Pliny remember the former troubles caused by their lawlessness. These celebrated letters from both parties are all extant.

Scintillations of this sort crop out all along the geographical lines where the great organizations under the Solonic law existed; but history

had well-nigh forgotten these organizations when the fresh light of the inscriptions began to illumine the field. Perhaps their greatest value and aid to permanent civilization was in their endless opposition to slavery. This their inscriptions now abundantly show. It is the archæologist rather than the historian who acknowledges it.

Visiting the great museum of Athens I wandered through many gilded rooms set in the most studious order; among others those containing Dr. Schliemann's new and wonderful *trouvailles* of gold plate, and chains, and crowns, and daggers of the great warriors, kings, and queens of antiquity, sung by Homer and chronicled by Thucydides and Pausanias, — things astonishing and beautiful; but nothing which I had come so far to see. Indeed I should have found nothing had I not remembered the words of our consul-general, Mr. Eben Alexander, and likewise followed my learned guide, and our dragoman, outside the vast building, where, tumbled about in the open air or in unsightly sheds, lay hundreds of quaint and dusty slabs of ancient workmanship, whose dim legends told of an *eranos* or a *koinon*, sometimes as an epitaph, and sometimes recording a convivial, a prominent event, a resolution, or a rule. I had at last invaded the homotaphs and found the relics of the men whose labor built up that power and splendor, and shaped the classic poniards that lay in the palatial edifice.

Thus I found the museum of Athens divided into two parts, one furnishing data for a history of the social life of nations among those who toiled in slavery, and who invented, constructed, submitted, suffered in want, and perished; the other recalling the great in influence, backed by military power, — rulers who established laws for self-aggrandizement. The men of letters made history, which belittles or never mentions the creative force, on whose mudsills and girders was based the old, evanescent edifice of religion and of government; and the moral and creative ethics of the poor man is nearly all that now remains except these classic keepsakes. His archaic civilization has slowly differentiated out of its abominations and crudities, and our far-off century sees it fledging into a brilliant enlightenment, with a purer and more democratical religion.

The feature distinguishing these organizations is, that they were almost purely economical. Their uppermost question was the problem of existence; and this is the great subject before trade unions to-day. It is true that in appearance they were religious, which very naturally caused the modern epigraphists engaged in collection and translation to suppose that they were themselves communicants of the established official religion. Closer study of the evidence now at hand corroborates the admissions of Mommsen, Oehler, and Cagnat, that this was a dissimulation, working as a bid to the great official state

temples, whose members did not perform labor, to secure not only protection, but also the favor of the priests, for the sake of the employment and the pay. That they followed a separate religion of their own, and in their own way, is shown by the fact that they were severely persecuted by the Athenians for introducing false divinities into Attica. For centuries these organizations worked for the Athenians, furnishing the entertainments, the music, the idols, the images, and the paraphernalia of their celebrated mysteries. It has been discovered that, while they in this manner worked harmoniously for the state, and paid in their sacrificial money, yet they themselves had a poor men's worship, with their own entertainments, convivia, symposiums, and thousands of little temples or home asylums. As our college is from the ancient Roman *collegium*, or trade union, with its original schoolhouse, where, by the aid and consent of Augustus and Livia, the wood-workers learned to read, so our church, name and all, is from *kuriokos*, the home-house and asylum of the unions of the ancient Greeks. This home-house, or primitive "church," was also an eating-house; and we know by inscriptions how much the members paid monthly as their common quota for their meals at its common table.

#### THE ROMAN SIDE.

About the time that Solon's law was enacted, a similar right was given to the laboring people of Italy, to an almost unlimited organization, by Numa Pompilius, king of Rome. It is known to have applied to the musicians, goldsmiths, masons, dyers, shoemakers, tanners, braziers, and potters. It worked so well that in course of time it was engraved on one of the Twelve Tables of Roman laws. Gaius, the jurist, who lived before these precious documents were destroyed, and who appears to have consulted them, declares that this was a translation of Solon's law, and his words are inscribed in the Digest. Under this well-known statute, the right of trade unionism went into common law, and became sacred to mechanics and laborers. From this are obtained our first historical clews regarding the laboring population of Italy.

The Solonic law, therefore, whether inspired by Amasis, Solon, or Numa, was, in Italy, the source of an enormous social and political organization and agitation. After the great conquests, when all nationalities became subject to Rome, it was practically one law, and to a large extent one organization. Thus the ancient *jus coeundi* spread over the world, so as to give it an appearance of legalizing one great federated brotherhood which extended over all countries. It is in this age and condition of the Solonic law that a list of its organizations may best be given. Their names for the various countries belonging to Rome are on record about as follows:

For Asia Minor, Greece, Macedonia, Rhodes and other Greek islands, they took the appellations, using the singular, of Eranos, Thiasos, Hetæra, Homotaphos or burial association, Orgiastic worshippers, Baptists, Koinon or cœnobium, Therapeut or healing association, etc. The latter also acted as a moral guardian.

For Italy, Spain, Gaul, and the westward islands, they had the name of Collegium or trade union, Sodalicium or companionship, Corpus or "body" of brothers, etc.; and these are divided into the thirty-five regular trade unions enumerated in the law of Constantine.

For Palestine there were the Essenes and the Ebionites or brotherhood of the poor.

With these various names the organization under the Solonic law was, at the time of the crucifixion, struggling against persecution, slavery, and poverty, and had become intensely secret on account of the Roman conspiracy laws.

With the Roman conquests, labor's side of the historic parallel begins; and it is a highly respectable fountain. By following its course along the stream of time we shall find what this right of combination has accomplished. Plutarch says that Numa reigned forty-three years, during which time he wisely discountenanced strife. So soon as he was dead, however, the doors of the war-god's temple, in which this peaceful monarch had so long kept him confined, were opened, and Mars sprang out. The unions of earth-workers and of metal- and wood-workers became ditchers and sling- and sword-makers. They set to work manufacturing war implements in vast quantities for the army, being employed and paid by the Roman government on a basis of time and recompense nearly the same as demanded by the most radical labor agitations at the present day. Yet this sweeping government employment, which for hundreds of years made their lives easy, did not elevate them permanently to any dignified position, because, under the ancient competitive system, the law forbade them the hope of rising above the social conditions in which they were born. They were accorded no recognition, and even if they wrote their history, like the works of Nymphodorus, it was lost. But for their inscriptions and an occasional word inadvertently dropped by writers who recorded the doings made possible on account of the military implements thus furnished, few would now know how Rome became the conqueror of the world. This reveals something of the strictly social side of the story of the working people.

It could no longer be said that organized labor took no part in politics. Labor gained a lively advantage in the debates enjoyed at the meetings of the branches and clubs. Then as now, advantages were best realized through law; but a powerful aristocracy opposed, and

a hundred and fifty years from the time of their friend Numa, their political power, as expressed in the tribunes, had grown to be so great that Livy, in his hitherto incomprehensible passage on the "*solitudo magistratum*," admits that the domination of the house of lords was broken by the lower stratum, in a clear measure of numbers, and that for five years there was no representative in the Roman senate, the commons having exclusive control. Mommsen read and understood this dark page in history, but had not the courage to restore it. The lords, seeing their downfall imminent, hit upon the cunning but desperate policy of the conquests, which turned the tide of the industries of Rome out of the peaceful into the warlike, and in time uprooted the political foothold of these voting proletarian organizations. By thus turning their powers into warlike channels they became instruments of death and destruction, which continued fully four hundred years. This policy reduced millions to slavery, and resulted in a havoc that threatened for a time to depopulate the world. A consequence of its murderous rage was the conspiracy laws and restrictions against the working people's right of combination. No one has properly written this bloody page in history.

It is supposed by some of the archæologists interested in their inscriptions, that these unions were guilds. Closer comparative study confirms the opinion that they were pure trade unions. Guilds were the product of the feudal ages long afterwards. The ancient unions did not enrich the few at the expense of the many. They took care of their members as well as their government. Even while engaged in furnishing military implements for those cruel wars, which, indeed, were to work their own destruction, they went on with the old work of making sewers and bridges as before.

About 450 B. C., the venerated law of Numa, known to have enjoyed for ages unlimited scope, and to have organized enormous masses of the breadwinning class, was attacked by the aristocratic gens Claudia, in the person of Appius, its powerful representative. The organization suffered, but it could not be destroyed. It actually grew inveterate in its secret forms, outliving the suppressions of the Cæsars, and continued to be an economic contingent didactically, socially, and politically, and was strong until suppressed by the council of Laodicea, thus maintaining itself against opposition for fully a thousand years. During the greater part of this time its tenacity of life caused it to writhe through many a dark vicissitude, while being fought by the lords because its political growth was feared and hated, as at this day.

Nor were its strifes without scenes of blood. Close analysis shows that Cicero, who fought the tribune Clodius with the double weapons of eloquence and power, because the latter took the part of the laborers



and restored their right of organization, which this renowned orator had suppressed, lost both his property and his life in that very struggle; that Julius Cæsar suppressed their organizations again; that Christianity was welcomed by them, and nestled and grew in the warm, loving brotherhoods; that Nero ignited the conflagration which consumed Rome, and boasted that he did it to destroy this rabble because their existence was a menace to the power and sacred supremacy of the house of Claudius, of which he imagined himself a lineal descendant.

But perhaps the most remarkable conclusion arrived at by this analysis of evidence is, that the organization of labor to-day was largely planted and cultivated in the mellow ground of these ancient brotherhoods, and that it lives and flourishes because it was nourished in secrecy by them until it could stand alone.

Such is the strange account, in outline, of labor under the Solonic law.

## CANADA: ITS POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT AND DESTINY.

BY J. G. BOURINOT, C. M. G., LL. D., D. C. L.,

*Clerk of the Canadian House of Commons.*

THIRTY years have passed away since the Canadian Provinces entered upon a new era of political development, and whatever may be the defects of their federal system, it must be admitted that it has on the whole come up to the expectations of its founders. Already the Confederation, originally confined to four provinces, embraces all the territory between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. Within a few years a new province has grown up in the vast Northwest, whose natural capabilities for the cultivation of cereals are now generally recognized; whence, in the course of a few decades of years, a considerable proportion of the world's supply of wheat must come. One great railway which had been long vainly desired by the people of British North America, was built soon after the consolidation of the provinces, and the western country connected with the provinces by the sea. A greater work, clearly of imperial as well as colonial interest, absolutely essential to the settlement of the Northwest and to the unity of the Dominion, has been completed between the Pacific Ocean and the old provinces. Short lines of railway have been built to connect with the three great roads of the Dominion, the Intercolonial, the Canadian Pacific, and the Grand Trunk. The canals have been enlarged so as to give greater facilities for Western traffic, and, if possible, to make the St. Lawrence the principal artery for the rich agricultural country which lies around and beyond the Lakes. Manufactures have sprung up through the artificial stimulus given to capital and industry by a fiscal policy which, whatever English economists may think of its soundness, and however much it may be antagonistic to those principles of free trade which prevail in Great Britain, seems to have originated in the aspirations of a large body of the people to possess a "national policy." The aggregate trade of the Dominion, that is of the imports and exports, has increased in twenty-five years from \$135,000,000 to \$255,000,000, and the revenue has doubled within the same period. The people have now on deposit at interest in the various banks, loan, building, and other companies probably \$120,000,000, or \$24 for every man, woman, and child in Canada.

In addition to its effect upon the material condition of the country, confederation has stimulated the intellectual development of the people. Educational facilities have been improved; the newspaper

press has largely increased in influence, and not a few works of historical and constitutional value have been produced by Canadian authors; while art, scientific, and literary associations — especially the Royal Society, founded by the Marquis of Lorne — have been stimulated under the inspiration of the more progressive ideas which have been the outcome of a political system which has given a wider scope to intellectual action.

But the most important result of confederation has undoubtedly been the more intimate political, social, and commercial relations that the provinces have with each other. Previous to 1867, while each province had a government and tariff of its own, little intercourse was possible, but now the Maritime and Western sections are brought necessarily into immediate contact with one another, and made to feel that they have a common interest in each other's prosperity. The different races that inhabit Canada have been harmonized to an extent that would hardly have been possible under any other system. The million and a half of people who speak the French language, and still form a distinct section of the population, are found working earnestly with the English-speaking majority in promoting the interests of the whole Dominion. Yet half a century ago the French Canadian people were in rebellion. If we find them now happy and contented, it is because they have at last attained that self-government for which they so long contended previous to 1840, and have special guarantees for the preservation of those institutions to which they are deeply attached. In the same way the Irish are seen working alongside the English and French for the advancement of those interests in which all are equally interested.

When framing the constitution of the Dominion, Canadian statesmen had before them the invaluable experience of the working of two great systems of government — the one in the parent state, the other in the United States. In considering the best method of consolidating the provinces under a federal system they were necessarily guided by the experiences of the great country on their borders. At the same time, while availing themselves of the best features of the American federation, they endeavored to preserve as far as possible those English institutions which are calculated to give stability to their government. The result of their efforts is a constitution which, in the words of the original resolutions of confederation, "follows the model of the British constitution, so far as our circumstances will permit."

The history of the circumstances under which the name "Dominion" came to be given to the united provinces shows the desire of the Canadians to give to the confederation, at the very outset, a monarchical likeness in contradistinction to the republican character of the American

federal union. We have it on the best authority that in 1866-7 the question arose during a conference between the Canadian delegates and the imperial authorities what name should be given to the confederation of the provinces, and it was first proposed that it should be called "the kingdom of Canada"; but it is said that the English ministry thought such a designation inadvisable, chiefly on the ground that it would be probably objectionable to the government of the United States, which had so recently expressed its disapprobation of the attempt of the Emperor Napoleon to establish an imperial European dynasty in Mexico. It is difficult to understand how any parallel could be fairly drawn between the two cases, and most persons, less sensitive than the English ministers, will probably consider that it was paying but a poor compliment to the common sense of the American people to suppose that they could take offence, on any reasonable grounds, at the Canadians, the subjects of the Queen, calling their confederation by a name which would simply illustrate their attachment to those monarchical institutions under which they have been living for a hundred and thirty-four years. However, the Canadian delegates made due allowance for the delicacy of the sentiment of the imperial government, and agreed as a compromise to the less ambitious title, Dominion of Canada, a designation recalling that old Dominion, named by Raleigh in honor of the virgin Queen.

The Dominion is governed by a central government in accordance with a written constitution known as the British North America Act, while each province still retains such an administrative and legislative machinery as is essential to its provincial existence. The executive government and authority over Canada are vested in the Queen, but as the sovereign cannot be present in the Dominion to perform those acts of state which the constitution requires at her hands, she is represented by a Governor-General, chosen every five years on the advice of her constitutional advisers. The permanency of the executive is a feature of their government which the Canadians have learned to value by comparison with the elective system of the United States. The Governor-General of Canada is appointed without the country being excited by a political contest, the issue of which at times is dangerous to the whole body politic. It is only necessary to consider the crisis through which the American republic has so recently passed, to understand the nature of the peril in which the nation finds itself every four years. From such dangers Canada is happily free under her constitution, which makes the sovereign the permanent head of the executive, and removes her representative from the turmoil of political controversy. In the administration of public affairs, the Governor-General is guided by the advice of responsible advisers, representing the opinions of the majority of the legislature. In Canada, for many years past, the policy of the

imperial government has been to refuse to interfere in any way with its domestic affairs, but to leave them entirely in the hands of the Governor and his advisers, who act in such matters in accordance with the well-known principles of the British constitutional system. It is only with respect to questions immediately affecting imperial interests, especially the relations of the empire with foreign nations, that the Governor can be said to be thrown to any extent on his own responsibility as an imperial officer. Even in such matters he will generally find it necessary to consult his colonial advisers, though he may not consider himself bound to adopt their advice. In these cases he can only follow the instructions of the government of which he is the accredited representative.

As in England, the Canadian ministry is practically a committee of the dominant party in parliament. Here again we have evidence how little the public men of Canada are influenced by their intercourse with the United States. A thorough study of the British system, which requires ministers to have seats, and receive the support of the majority, in parliament, has clearly shown to Canada its advantages over the American system. After an experience of over fifty years of the working of responsible government, Canadians have become thoroughly convinced that the presence in the legislature of a body of men responsible to the Commons and to the country for the administration of public affairs and the conduct of legislation, has decided advantages over a system which gives the whole executive government to the President, and does not allow his ministers to sit or speak in either branch of Congress. Whenever it is necessary to form a ministry in Canada, members are summoned by the Governor-General to the Privy Council of Canada; another illustration of the desire of the Canadians to imitate the old institutions of the parent state, and copy their time-honored names.

The Parliament of Canada consists of the Queen, the Senate, and a House of Commons. In the constitution of the upper chamber or Senate, there has been an attempt to give it a shade of resemblance to the distinguished body of the same name in the United States. In the formation of the Canadian Senate, each province has not the same number of Senators, as is the case with the States of the American republic; but three geographical groups were arranged in the first instance, consisting of Ontario, Quebec, and the Maritime Provinces, and to each group was allotted a representation of twenty-four members. More recently new provinces have been admitted into the Dominion without reference to this arrangement, and now there are altogether eighty-one Senators in Parliament. Between the functions and responsibilities of the Canadian Senate and those of the American body,



there is no analogy whatever. The Senate of the United States has intrusted to it under the constitution much larger powers than are enjoyed by an upper chamber in the British parliamentary system. Though bills raising revenue can originate in the House of Representatives only, yet the Senate may propose or concur with amendments as in other bills; a privilege which the English or Canadian House of Commons will not concede to the Lords or Senate. The American Senate has the right to control the President in his nomination to public offices, and to review the treaties that he may make with foreign nations. The Canadian Senate, on the other hand, is simply the House of Lords without the prestige or influence that attaches to a body of hereditary legislators. Under such circumstances it is easy to understand that the Canadian Senate does not exercise any large influence on the conduct of public affairs, though it must be admitted it contains many men of great ability and experience. It appears to be paying the penalty of being modelled after a House which originated centuries ago when parliamentary institutions were in course of development, and the House of Commons had not the great power it now possesses.

The House of Commons, the great governing body of the Dominion, has been made, so far as circumstances will permit, a copy of the English House. Not only in the House of Commons at Ottawa, but in all the Assemblies of the large Provinces, a visitor sees the Speaker and Clerk dressed in silk robes, the gilt mace on the table, the sergeant-at-arms in his official costume, the members observing the time-honored rules of debate, and paying that respect to the Chair which has been always a characteristic of the English House of Commons. In a new country some of these forms may seem antiquated and out of place, but nevertheless they will be interesting evidences to an Englishman of the tenacity with which the people of a great colony adhere to British customs and traditions. The conservatism of the Canadians in this particular is the more remarkable when we consider that in the parliament of Canada and the legislature of Quebec there are so many members speaking the French language, who might be expected not to have the same traditional respect for the old forms of the British legislature. Out of the two hundred and thirteen members who compose the Canadian Commons, a few address the house from time to time in French; and in their knowledge of parliamentary rules and of the working of parliamentary institutions, these French Canadians are in no way behind the English majority.

Of the two hundred and thirteen members of the House of Commons, ninety-two come from the great Province of Ontario, sixty-five from Quebec, and the remainder from the maritime and smaller provinces. In rearranging the representation after each decennial

census, the Act of Union provides that "there shall be assigned to each of the other provinces such a number of members as will bear the same proportion to the number of its population (ascertained at such census) as the number sixty-five bears to the number of the population of Quebec." By this ingenious arrangement, originally contrived in the interest of the French Canadian section, the representation is kept within certain limits, liable to very slight modifications every decade of years.

We have in the foregoing paragraphs given a mere summary of the leading features of the government to which is intrusted the work of administration and legislation for the Dominion. This government has the control of all matters affecting trade and commerce, currency and coinage, banking and the issue of paper money, postal affairs, militia and defence, navigation and shipping, fisheries, Indians and Indian lands, the criminal law, patents of invention and discovery, copyrights, naturalization of aliens, railways of an international and interprovincial character; and, in short, of all matters of a Dominion or national import. It alone can impose and collect duties on imports and regulate the general trade of the Dominion. On the other hand, the provinces legislate separately on matters of a purely municipal and provincial nature, such as direct taxation for provincial purposes, local works and undertakings, incorporation of companies for provincial objects, property and civil rights, establishment, maintenance and management of hospitals, asylums, and charitable institutions generally, excepting marine hospitals.

In each province of the Dominion there is a legislature generally composed of a Lieutenant-Governor and an Assembly. It is noteworthy that in all the provinces except Nova Scotia and Quebec the upper house has been abolished, and so far apparently without any detriment to the public interests. In this respect there is a divergence from the constitutional practice of the United States, where the old British system of two houses has been rigidly preserved in all their legislative bodies; but there is, it must be remembered, a considerable difference between the functions and responsibilities of a Canadian Legislative Council, and those of even a State Senate. The latter is elected by the people, and has powers hardly inferior to those of the lower house, whereas the Legislative Councils are nominated by the Lieutenant-Governor in Council, while their legislative functions are a feeble reproduction — even more feeble than those of the Senate — of those of the House of Lords. It may be added here that the necessity for having an upper house to revise and control hasty legislation, and exercise a supervision over the acts of the administration, — the principal uses of an upper chamber under an English parliamentary system, — is superseded to a great extent in the provinces by the fact

to which I shall presently refer, that the Lieutenant-Governors can reserve, and the Governor-General disallow, any act of a provincial legislature which, after due consideration, has been shown to be unconstitutional or otherwise antagonistic to the interests of the Dominion.

The administration of affairs in each province, the legislatures of which meet once a year, is placed under a Lieutenant-Governor, appointed and removable by the Governor-General in Council. The principles of responsible government obtain in every province as in the Dominion. The executive council, which advises the Lieutenant-Governor, holds office only whilst it has the confidence and support of the majority in the Assembly, in which the members of the council must always have seats.

We come now to consider the division of powers between the central and provincial governments; the most important part of the constitution, involving, as it necessarily does, the unity and security of the Dominion. We have already shown that the general government has jurisdiction over all questions which affect the Dominion, while the provinces have jurisdiction over matters of a purely provincial, local, and municipal character. In dealing with this important question the Canadians have endeavored to profit by the experience of their American neighbors, and to frame their constitution so as to avoid any dangerous assertion of "State Rights." Happily for Canada there has been no question of slavery to divide one section from another. No climatic conditions exist in the Dominion, as in the United States, to create those differences of habit and temperament which make the Southerners practically a distinct people. What diversities of interest exist in the Dominion arise from the geographical situation of the Provinces. We see on the seaboard a maritime section, where the people are mainly engaged in mining or maritime pursuits; again, in the West, a great prosperous agricultural and manufacturing community. In the arrangements of tariffs the peculiar interests of the diverse sections — especially of the Maritime Provinces — have to be carefully considered, and are no doubt at times a cause of considerable perplexity to governments and parliaments; but this diversity of interests was not a source of embarrassment at the time of the formation of the constitution. Neither has any crucial difficulty arisen from the existence in one province of a large and growing population, closely united in all matters affecting their language and institutions. On the contrary, the federal constitution is to a large extent based on principles favorable to the existence of the French Canadians as a distinct section of the population of Canada.

In perfecting the provisions of the new constitution, the public men of the provinces were able to make such a division of powers between the general and provincial governments as was quite satisfac-

tory at the time to all the provinces. Availing themselves of the experience of the United States, they adopted at the outset a principle with respect to the balance of power the very reverse of that which obtains in the constitution of that country. In the Canadian constitution, the powers of the provincial governments are distinctly specified, while those of the general government cover the whole ground of legislation not so expressly reserved to the provincial authorities. The Dominion government is authorized in express terms "to make laws for the peace, order, and good government of Canada in relation to all matters not coming within the classes by this Act [the Act of Union] assigned exclusively to the legislatures of the provinces;" and in addition to this general provision it is enacted that "any matter coming within any of the classes of subjects enumerated in this section [that is, the section defining the powers of the general parliament] shall not be deemed to come within the class of matters of a local or private nature comprised in the enumeration of the classes of subjects assigned exclusively to the legislatures of the provinces."

The object of the foregoing provision can be clearly understood from the language of the astute Premier of Canada, Sir John Macdonald, when he explained the details of confederation to the legislature. "We have thus avoided," he said, "that great source of weakness which has been the cause of the disruption of the United States; we have avoided all conflict of jurisdiction and authority." After an experience of thirty years, it must be acknowledged that the constitution has worked exceedingly well as a rule, but at the same time it is evident that the hopes of the Canadian Premier were somewhat too sanguine. In fact, it is obviously impossible, under a written constitution defining the respective powers of separate political authorities, to prevent questions of doubt arising as to where really rests the right of legislation in certain matters. The numerous cases that have already come before the courts of Canada and the Privy Council of England show how difficult it is by mere words to fix the legislative limits of the central and provincial governments. It already takes several volumes to comprise all the reports and pamphlets that have appeared up to this time on this troublesome question of jurisdiction.

Questions relating to education and separate schools — the Manitoba school difficulty, for instance — and to the religious and social interests of the two nationalities that possess Canada, necessarily crop up from time to time, but so far they have been generally settled by the judgments of the courts, to which great respect is paid as in all countries of British institutions, and by principles of compromise and conciliation on which a federal system must be more or less based.

The constitution of Canada provides a means of arriving at a solu-

tion of such difficulties as are likely to arise from time to time in the working of the federal system. Here again the authors of federation have availed themselves of the experience of their American neighbors, and have established a Supreme Court or general Court of Appeal for Canada, whose highest function is to decide these questions of jurisdiction. The decisions of this court are already doing much to solve difficulties that impede the successful operation of the constitution. As a rule, cases come before the Supreme Court on appeal from the lower courts, but the law regulating its powers provides that the Governor in Council may refer any matter to this court on which a question of constitutional jurisdiction has been raised. But the Supreme Court of Canada is not the court of last resort for Canada. The people have an inherent right, as subjects of the Queen, to appeal to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council of the United Kingdom. Several cases, involving constitutional issues of great moment, have already come before that learned body, and on more than one occasion the decisions of the Supreme Court have been reversed, though the general result so far has been to strengthen confidence in the Canadian tribunal.

But it is not only by means of the courts that a check is imposed upon hasty or unconstitutional legislation. The constitution provides that the Governor-General may veto or reserve any bill passed by the two houses of parliament when it conflicts with imperial interests or imperial legislation. The veto, however, has never been exercised in the history of Canada, but it was until recently the practice to reserve for Her Majesty's assent such bills as appeared to fall within certain classes of subjects expressly set forth in the royal instructions to the Governor-General. Since confederation, however, the imperial government has materially modified these instructions, because it has been deemed "inadvisable that they should contain anything which could be interpreted as limiting or defining the legislative powers conferred in 1867 on the Dominion Parliament."

It is now understood that the reserved power of disallowance which Her Majesty's government possesses under the law is sufficient to meet all possible cases. This sovereign power is never exercised except in the case of an act clearly in conflict with an imperial statute or in violation of a treaty affecting a foreign nation. In the provinces the Lieutenant-Governors may also veto bills of the legislature, or reserve them for the consideration of the Governor-General in Council. It is noteworthy that during the first years of union in the provinces of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island, the Lieutenant-Governors sometimes withheld their assent,—a power not exercised by the Crown in England since the days of Queen Anne. In this



case these officials exercised a power greater than that of the President or Governors of States, since the legislatures cannot, under the Canadian constitution, pass the bill over the veto by a two-thirds majority. The power has never been exercised in the larger provinces, and though it is of course in conformity with the letter of the law, it is at variance with the spirit and principle of responsible government. The exercise of the power is in fact unnecessary, since the constitution gives to the general government the power of annulling such provincial acts as are considered unconstitutional. The Dominion government supervises all the provincial legislation, and has in a few cases disallowed certain provincial acts. This power is exercised very carefully, as it is regarded with intense jealousy by the provincial governments, which have more than once resented it and attempted to set it at defiance. This fact shows the delicate position in which the Dominion government is placed in exercising a power which gives it so wide a control over provincial legislation. Any injustice or abuse of authority would undoubtedly lead to grave complications.<sup>1</sup>

The Canadian constitution, on the whole, appears to be a successful effort of statesmanship, and well adapted to promote the unity of the Dominion, if worked in a spirit of compromise and conciliation. Canada is now governed by a political system which from the village or town council up to the parliament of the Dominion, is intended to give to the people full control over their own affairs. At the base of the entire political organization lie those municipal institutions whose origin must be sought in the village communities of the Germanic tribes. Each province is divided into distinct municipal districts, whose purely local affairs are governed by elected bodies, in accordance with a well matured system of law. Still higher up in the body politic is the province, with a government whose functions and responsibilities are limited by the federal constitution. Then comes the general government to complete the structure—to give unity and harmony to the whole. With a federal system which gives due strength to the central authority, and at the same time every freedom to the provincial organizations; with a judiciary free from popular influences, and distinguished for character and learning; with a public service resting on the safe tenure of good behavior; with a people who respect the laws;—the Dominion of Canada must have a bright career before her, if her political development continues to be promoted on the same wise principles that have so far illustrated her constitutional history.

The inquiry now naturally suggests itself, What will be the outcome of the political development of Canada? what is the destiny in

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<sup>1</sup> See Bourinot's "Parliamentary Procedure and Government," 2nd ed., pp. 81-87, for history of difficulties that have arisen from the exercise of this power.

store for a country showing so much energy and enterprise in all the pursuits of industry, and such admirable capacity for self-government? The five millions of people who now inhabit the Dominion must double in number within a decade or two, according as the agricultural and mineral wealth of her new territories is developed. When many millions of people inhabit a continuous chain of provinces from the Atlantic to the Pacific, will they be satisfied with their present position? This is a question that must ere long press itself more and more upon the attention of statesmen and publicists interested in the unity of the empire.

How slight are the ties that now bind Canada to the parent state is very clearly shown by the fact that she might to-morrow become an independent power without any immediate perceptible effect on the prosperity or greatness of Britain. For the moment it would simply mean that Her Majesty's government would have one governor less to appoint in her dominions, that the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council — the supreme court of the empire — would have fewer cases of law to decide, and that the Colonial Office would have fewer despatches to write and receive in future. The regiment that now keeps up a semblance of British rule in Halifax would be removed, while the fleet would no longer be bound to make that port a headquarters in American waters. As far as the commercial relations of the two countries are concerned, — the important point, probably, in the opinion of many Englishmen, — these would not be affected to any marked degree by the separation of the colony from the parent state, since the Dominion has for years imposed duties on imports without much consideration for British manufacturing interests. Canada would then be able to make her own treaties with foreign nations without any reference to the imperial authorities. On the other hand, Canada would have to increase her expenditures for the purposes of national defence, and of keeping up a little staff of envoys and consuls, besides paying for other privileges inseparable from a national existence.

But national aspirations are the natural outcome of the growth and prosperity of a people. The great forces which are silently at work, developing a national character, may become more powerful as the years pass than the strong sentimental feeling which now binds Canada to the parent state. It is quite certain, however, that it would be with very great reluctance — probably from no fault of her own — that Canada would sever the connection to which she has faithfully adhered for a century and more. Should the time ever arrive for independence, the records of her history will probably show that she had far outgrown a position of mere colonial dependency, and that it was not possible to devise a plan which would enable her to remain in the empire on terms compatible with her dignity and security.

Of course if Canada should at any future time be dissatisfied on adequate grounds with the semi-independent position she now occupies, and begin seriously to consider the necessity for a change in her political position, there is always open to her the alternative of annexation to the great republican power that lies to her south. Some persons, like Mr. Dana of the *New York Sun* and his follower in Canada, Professor Goldwin Smith, think that the natural political and commercial tendency of a country situated like Canada must be toward connection with a people whose rapid development is the most remarkable event of the century. By the time a new century dawns there will be over eighty million people within the borders of the United States, and it would seem difficult—in the opinion of the two annexation leaders I have named—for the Canadian people to resist the powerful influences that would attract them toward the republic. But there is certainly no evidence whatever before us just now to lead us to such a conclusion. Indeed, we believe that every year which carries Canada further in her career of political and industrial development, renders annexation less probable. We have already shown that it was different sixty years ago, when Canada was relatively a poor and ill-governed country. Even under the unfavorable conditions of those unhappy days the great mass of the people did not respond to the rebellious appeals of Papineau, Nelson, and MacKenzie, but preferred to trust to the justice of the imperial government, which soon recognized the mistakes they had committed by being too indifferent to Canadian grievances.

The effect of the liberal colonial policy of England since 1840 has been to dispel entirely all feelings of discontent, and to strengthen the attachment of all classes of the people to their own country and its institutions, and to their connection with the parent state. The confederation of the provinces, by enlarging the arena of political action and increasing the facilities for trade and commerce, has created a national spirit among the people, a laudable desire, especially among the younger men, to build up a new nationality to the north of the American republic, if possible in close connection with Great Britain. Of course it would be very different if Canada were ill-governed, were her trade to diminish, and her great Northwest Territory to become a burthen instead of a source of wealth and population. If during the next twenty years Canadians should see the failure of all their great schemes of internal development, probably a strong annexation party would soon assert itself; but at present there is every evidence to prove that confederation is a success, and that the Canadians are capable of working out their political fortunes apart from the United States.

The national spirit that exists among the Canadian people—a

sentiment which must increase with the growth of population and wealth — is naturally intensified by the history of the relations between them and the United States during this century.<sup>1</sup> The history of the War of 1812-15, a conflict remarkable for the patriotism exhibited by all classes of the Canadians; the raids of ruffians across the frontier after the rebellion of 1837-8; the "Ashburton capitulation," which handed over so large a portion of British territory, which would be now invaluable to Canada, as a result of the indifference of Ashburton and the skilful manipulation of Webster; the repeal of the Reciprocity Treaty of 1854-65, largely through the belief that it would hasten annexation to the United States, though it had the very contrary effect; the shameless Fenian raids which were at first winked at by the American authorities, and for which Canada to this hour has never been indemnified; the apparently fixed determination of certain dominant cliques of politicians to prevent anything like a fair measure of reciprocity; the unjust alien labor laws which forbid respectable Canadians from entering the Union and shut out even a superior class of female nurses from attendance on the ill and dying in hospitals and charitable institutions; the insults of men like Dana and Smith to Canada and its institutions; — all these are among the reasons which naturally tend to show Canadians how little generosity and fairness they can expect from dominant influences among their neighbors, and help to weld more closely together all classes of the Canadian people and strengthen their confederation.

Canadians believe, however, that the cultured and most enlightened class of the American people do not sympathize with such illiberality as is constantly shown by the words and acts of leading politicians in their dealings with the Dominion, but reciprocate the kindly sentiment which animates its people and leads them to desire the most friendly and the fullest commercial relations with their neighbors as long as they are compatible with their security as a separate national entity and as an integral portion of the British Empire. Unhappily for Canada the generous and just opinions of this intelligent and cultured class of citizens have not always prevailed in the past with the powers that dominate Congress and government at Washington.

Throughout Canada as well as Great Britain there is an influential, able body of men, — more conspicuous for their abilities than their number, so far, — who ardently desire "to secure by federation the permanent unity of the empire." This scheme of federation is "not to interfere with the existing rights of local parliaments as regards local affairs," but to combine "on an equitable basis the resources of the

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<sup>1</sup> I have already treated these questions at length in the Papers of the American Historical Association (Washington, 1891), and the *Quarterly Review* (London, April, 1891).

empire for the maintenance of common interests and adequately provide for an organized defence of common rights."

The federation of the empire is a scheme certainly calculated by its imperial scope to strike the imagination of the political enthusiast. It is a scheme which has been dreamed of by statesmen and students since the days of Otis and Burke. Its realization, however, is surrounded with the gravest difficulties, which appear insuperable to some practical statesmen, to whom it is yet a novel question brought into prominence within a few years. A federation of the empire, in the broadest sense of the phrase, means the creation of an imperial parliament, which may legislate for the general purposes of the empire, and the establishment or continuance of legislatures in each country or dependency to legislate for local and minor objects. Before this can be realized, England must be convinced of the necessity of reconstructing her constitutional system in vital particulars, of granting legislatures to Scotland and Ireland, of establishing a Supreme Court to adjudicate on the questions which would inevitably arise in the legal construction of the written constitution which must bind together the federation. . On the other hand, Canada would have to make radical changes in her federal system so as to adapt it to the new order of things.

It is quite evident that, while floating through the minds of the advocates of imperial federation there has been a vague idea of the desirability and necessity of imperial unity, no one has yet been able to outline a plan which has a practical basis of action. Sir John Macdonald, the ablest statesman who ever presided over the destinies of Canada, who was a thorough imperialist, frankly confessed that Canada could not in any way lessen or impair her present admirable system of home government. Whilst doubting the practicability of the idea of a federation of the empire, in the wide sense generally given it, he appeared to think that some scheme could be devised to give Canada a higher status in the world, and at the same time enable her to remain associated with the empire for certain common objects, and for defence particularly. This opinion is now generally entertained by many able and influential Englishmen and Canadians.

Most important results no doubt must be attained eventually by the frequent holding of such intercolonial conferences as have been already held in London and Ottawa, — notably that at Ottawa, where three years ago there were representatives of all the most important self-governing colonies of Great Britain, — conferences which it is now proposed to continue during the present year, when the empire will joyfully celebrate the diamond jubilee of the Queen, during whose reign the dependencies of the crown have made such remarkable progress in wealth and self-government. It will be a happy thing if a solution can



be reached by this means of the problems that now interest all British and Colonial statesmen and thinkers, who are anxious for the unity and security of the empire at large.

The success which has so far attended the efforts of the Canadian people to develop their material resources and place their system of government on a stable foundation, leads us to entertain the most sanguine hopes as to the future of their country. For a century they have successfully resisted all the influences which might be supposed to draw them closer to the United States, and, in the face of not a few obstacles, have steadily labored to strengthen their position to the north of the American republic. Step by step they are working their way over the prairies and mountains of the continent towards the Pacific Ocean; building railways and forming new provinces, ere long to be filled up by an industrious and sturdy population like that which has achieved such satisfactory results in old Canada and in the provinces by the sea. If they continue during a few decades more to be animated by the same public spirit that has distinguished their efforts since the commencement of confederation, Canada will be able to assume a much more conspicuous position among the free communities of the world, and may prove a formidable rival even of the United States in the great work which both have to accomplish on the continent of America. And it is assuredly the earnest desire of Canadians as well as Englishmen that if, when that time comes, a large scheme of federation — and many distinguished thinkers still cling to that grand idea — is clearly impracticable, there may exist at least such an alliance or connection between Canada and the parent state as will give greater security to both, and afford to the world the interesting spectacle of a people who owe to Great Britain their free institutions never forgetting in the fulness of their strength and prosperity the land of their origin, but still bound to her by the closest ties of interest, sympathy, and affection, and ever ready to lend her material assistance in the hour of need.

HOUSE OF COMMONS, OTTAWA.

## THE STATUS OF WOMAN, PAST, PRESENT, AND FUTURE.

BY SUSAN B. ANTHONY.

A REQUEST from THE ARENA to state what really has come of our half-century of agitation, and what is sure to come in the near future, will be used as the basis of this article.

Fifty years ago woman in the United States was without a recognized individuality in any department of life. No provision was made in public or private schools for her education in anything beyond the rudimentary branches. An educated woman was a rarity, and was gazed upon with something akin to awe. The women who were known in the world of letters, in the entire country, could be easily counted upon the ten fingers. Margaret Fuller, educated by her father, a Harvard graduate and distinguished lawyer, stood preëminently at the head, and challenged the admiration of such men as Emerson, Channing, and Greeley.

In those days the women of the family were kept closely at home, carding, spinning, and weaving, making the butter and cheese, knitting and sewing, working by day and night, planning and economizing, to educate the boys of the family. Thus the girls toiled so long as they remained under the home roof, their services belonging to the father by law and by custom. Any kind of a career for a woman was a thing undreamed of. Among the poorer families the girls might go about among the neighbors and earn a miserable pittance at housework or sewing. When the boy was twenty-one, the father agreed to pay him a fixed sum per annum, thenceforth, for his services, or, in default of this, he was free to carry his labor where it would receive a financial reward. No such agreement ever was made with the girls of the family. They continued to work without wages after they were twenty-one, exactly as they did before. When they married, their services were transferred to the husband, and were considered to be bountifully rewarded by food, shelter, and usually a very scanty supply of clothes. Any wages the wife might earn outside of the home belonged by law to the husband. No matter how drunken and improvident he might be; no matter how great her necessities and those of the children, if the employer paid the money to her he could be prosecuted by the husband and compelled to pay it again to him.

Cases were frequent where fathers willed all of their property to the sons, entirely cutting the daughters out. Where, however, the daughters received property, it passed directly into the sole possession

of the husband, and all the rents and profits belonged to him to use as he pleased. At his death he could dispose of it by will, depriving the wife of all but what was called the "widow's dower," a life interest in one-third of that which was by right her own property. She lost not only the right to her earnings and her property, but also the right to the custody of her person and her children. The husband could apprentice the children at an early age, in spite of the mother's protest, and at his death could dispose of the children by will, even an unborn child. The wife could neither sue nor be sued, nor testify in the courts. The phrase in constant use in legal decisions was, "The wife is dead in law," or, "Husband and wife are one, and that one the husband." According to the English common law, which then prevailed in every State in the Union except Louisiana, a man might beat his wife up to the point of endangering her life, without being liable to prosecution.

Fifty years ago no occupations were open to women except cooking, sewing, teaching, and factory work. Very few women were sufficiently educated to teach, but those who could do so received from \$4 to \$8 a month and "boarded round," while men, for exactly the same service, received \$30 a month and board. Every woman must marry, either with or without love, for the sake of support, or be doomed to a life of utter dependence, living, after the death of parents, in the home of a married brother or sister, the drudge and burden-bearer of the family, without any financial recompense, and usually looked upon with disrespect by the children. Women might work like galley slaves for their own relatives, receiving only their board and clothes, and hold their social position in the community; but the moment they stepped outside of the home and became wage-earners, thus securing pecuniary independence, they lost caste and were rigidly barred out from the quilting bees, the apple-parings, and all the society functions of the neighborhood. Is it any wonder that a sour and crabbed disposition was universally ascribed to spinsterhood, or that those women should be regarded as most unfortunate, doomed to a loveless, aimless, and dependent existence, — universally considered as having made a failure of life?

Scarcely less under the ban was the woman who dared venture into the field of literature. No pen can depict the scorn and derision that expressed themselves in that word "bluestocking." The literary woman placed herself forever beyond the pale of marriage, for no man would be brave enough to take for a wife a creature who had thus unsexed herself. If she could write, it followed without question that she could not cook, sew, manage a house, or bring up children, and her name in such connection suggested at once an appalling scene of

disorder and discomfort. This belief prevailed, to a great extent, in regard to a woman who attempted any vocation outside of domestic service, that by so doing she became at once and forever unfitted for the duties of wife and mother. Of all the old prejudices that cling to the hem of the woman's garments and persistently impede her progress, none holds faster than this. The idea that she owes service to man instead of to herself, and that it is her highest duty to aid his development rather than her own, will be the last to die.

In that day not even woman herself had so much as a dream of entering the professions of law, medicine, and theology. When the genius of Harriet Hosmer impelled her to take up sculpture, she travelled from one end of the country to the other begging for an opportunity to make the necessary study of anatomy. When Elizabeth Blackwell determined to consecrate her life to medicine, not one of the standard medical colleges would admit her as a student, and society ostracized her. After Antoinette Brown had graduated with high honors from Oberlin College, even that institution placed every possible obstacle in the way of her entrance into the Theological Department, and one of the faculty said: "If there were any by-law, Miss Brown, by which you could be shut out, you would not be admitted."

As for the profession of law, nobody lived in those times who had even a vision of a day when woman would enter that domain which seemed so sacredly the exclusive possession of man. Politics seemed a great deal farther away than paradise, and the most radical reformer had not the prophetic eye which could discern the woman politician.

Such was the helpless, dependent, fettered condition of woman when the first Woman's Rights Convention was called just forty-nine years ago, at Seneca Falls, N. Y., by Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Lucretia Mott. Half a century before this, Mary Wollstonecraft had written her "Vindication of the Rights of Woman," that matchless plea for the equality of the sexes. A quarter of a century before, Frances Wright, in connection with addresses upon other subjects, demanded equal rights for women. In 1835, Ernestine L. Rose and Paulina Wright Davis circulated the first petition for property rights for women, and during the next ten years Mrs. Rose addressed the New York Legislature a number of times asking political equality. Mrs. Stanton also had circulated petitions and addressed the Legislature during this period. In 1847, Lucy Stone, on her return from Oberlin College, made her first woman's rights address in her brother's church in Gardner, Mass.

While there had been individual demands, from time to time, the first organized body to formulate a declaration of the rights of women was the one which met at Seneca Falls, July 19-20, 1848, and adjourned

to meet at Rochester two weeks later. In the Declaration of Sentiments and the Resolutions there framed, every point was covered that, down to the present day, has been contended for by the advocates of equal rights for women. Every inequality of the existing laws and customs was carefully considered and a thorough and complete readjustment demanded. The only resolution that was not unanimously adopted was the one urging the elective franchise for women. Those who opposed it did so only because they feared it would make the movement ridiculous. But Mrs. Stanton and Frederick Douglass, seeing that the power to make laws and choose rulers was the right by which all others could be secured, persistently advocated the resolution and at last carried it by a good majority.

The proceedings of this convention were ridiculed by the press and denounced by the pulpit from one end of the country to the other. Its demands were considered the most absurd and preposterous that could be made, and so severe was the storm which raged that many who had signed the Declaration made haste to withdraw their names. Now, at the end of half a century, we find that, with few exceptions, all of the demands formulated at this convention have been granted. The great exception is the yielding of political rights, and toward this one point are directed now all the batteries of scorn, of ridicule, of denunciation that formerly poured their fire all along the line. Although not one of the predicted calamities occurred upon the granting of the other demands, the world is asked to believe that all of them will happen if this last stronghold is surrendered.

There is not space to follow the history of the last fifty years and study the methods by which these victories have been gained, but there is not one foot of advanced ground upon which women stand to-day that has not been obtained through the hard-fought battles of other women. The close of this nineteenth century finds every trade, vocation, and profession open to women, and every opportunity at their command for preparing themselves to follow these occupations. The girls as well as the boys of a family now fit themselves for such careers as their tastes and abilities permit. A vast amount of the household drudgery, that once monopolized the whole time and strength of the mother and daughters, has been taken outside and turned over to machinery in vast establishments. A money value is placed upon the labor of women. The ban of social ostracism has been largely removed from the woman wage-earner. She who can make for herself a place of distinction in any line of work receives commendation instead of condemnation. Woman is no longer compelled to marry for support, but may herself make her own home and earn her own financial independence.



With but few exceptions, the highest institutions of learning in the land are as freely opened to girls as to boys, and they may receive their degrees at legal, medical, and theological colleges, and practise their professions without hindrance. In the world of literature and art women divide the honors with men; and our civil-service rules have secured for them many thousands of remunerative positions under the Government.

It is especially worthy of note that along with this general advancement of women has come a marked improvement in household methods. Woman's increased intelligence manifests itself in this department as conspicuously as in any other. Education, culture, mental discipline, business training develop far more capable mothers and housewives than were possible under the old régime. Men of the present generation give especial thought to comradeship in the selection of a wife, and she is no less desirable in their eyes because she is a college graduate or has learned the value and the management of money through having earned it.

There has been a radical revolution in the legal status of woman. In most States the old common law has been annulled by legislative enactment, through which partial justice, at least, has been done to married women. In nearly every State they may retain and control property owned at marriage and all they may receive by gift or inheritance thereafter, and also their earnings outside the home. They may sue and be sued, testify in the courts, and carry on business in their own name, but in no State have wives any ownership in the joint earnings. In six or seven States mothers have equal guardianship of the children. While in most States the divorce laws are the same for men and women, they never can bear equally upon both while all the property earned during marriage belongs wholly to the husband. There has been such a modification in public sentiment, however, that, in most cases, courts and juries show a marked leniency toward women.

The department of politics has been slowest to give admission to women. Suffrage is the pivotal right, and if it could have been secured at the beginning, women would not have been half a century in gaining the privileges enumerated above, for privileges they must be called so long as others may either give or take them away. If women could make the laws or elect those who make them, they would be in the position of sovereigns instead of subjects. Were they the political peers of man they could command instead of having to beg, petition, and pray. Can it be possible it is for this reason that men have been so determined in their opposition to grant to women political power?

But even this stronghold is beginning to yield to the long and

steady pressure. In twenty-five States women possess suffrage in school matters; in four States they have a limited suffrage in local affairs; in one State they have municipal suffrage; in four States they have full suffrage, local, State, and national. Women are becoming more and more interested in political questions and public affairs. Every campaign sees greater numbers in attendance at the meetings, and able woman speakers are now found upon the platforms of all parties. Especial efforts are made by politicians to obtain the support of women, and during the last campaign one of the Presidential candidates held special meetings for women in the large cities throughout the country. Some of the finest political writing in the great newspapers of the day is done by women, and the papers are extensively read by women of all classes. In many of the large cities women have formed civic clubs and are exercising a distinctive influence in municipal matters. In most of the States of the Union women are eligible for many offices, State and County Superintendents, Registers of Deeds, etc. They are Deputies to State, County, and City officials, notaries public, State Librarians, and enrolling and engrossing clerks in the Legislatures.

It follows, as a natural result, that in the States where women vote they are eligible to all offices. They have been sent as delegates to National Conventions, made Presidential electors, and are sitting to-day as members in both the Upper and Lower Houses of the Legislatures. In some towns all the offices are filled by women. These radical changes have been effected without any social upheaval or domestic earthquakes, family relations have suffered no disastrous changes, and the men of the States where women vote furnish the strongest testimony in favor of woman suffrage.

There is no more striking illustration of the progress that has been made by woman that that afforded by her changed position in the Church. Under the old régime the Quakers were the only sect who recognized the equality of women. Other denominations enforced the command of St. Paul, that women should keep silence in the churches. A few allowed the women to lift up their voices in class and prayer meetings, but they had no vote in matters of church government. Even the missionary and charity work was in the hands of men.

Now the Unitarians, Universalists, Congregationalists, Wesleyan and Protestant Methodists, Christians, Free-Will Baptists, and possibly a few others ordain women as ministers, and many parishes, in all parts of the country, are presided over by women preachers. The charitable and missionary work of the churches is practically turned over to women, who raise and disburse immense sums of money. While many of the great denominations still refuse to ordain women,

to allow them a seat in their councils or a vote in matters of church government, yet women themselves are, in a large measure, responsible for this state of affairs. Forming, as they do, from two-thirds to three-fourths of the membership, raising the greater part of the funds and carrying on the active work of the church, when they unite their forces and assert their rights, the small minority of men, who have usurped the authority, will be obliged to yield to their just demands. The creeds of the churches will recognize woman's equality before God, as the codes of the States have acknowledged it before man and the law.

By far the larger part of the progressive movements just enumerated have taken place during the last twenty-five years, and the progress has been most rapid during the last half of this quarter of a century. With the advantages already obtained, with the great liberalizing of public sentiment, and with the actual proof that the results of enlarged opportunities for women have been for the betterment of society, the next decade ought to see the completion of the struggle for the equality of the sexes. The hardest of the battles have been fought, and, while there is still need for both generals and soldiers, the greatest necessity is for the body of women to take possession and hold the ground that has been gained. It is not sufficient that women should fill positions as well as men, they must give vastly better satisfaction in order to prove their claims. There is an urgent demand for women of the highest character and intelligence, because the whole sex will be judged by the few who come forward to assume these new duties.

While by the momentum already gained the reforms demanded would eventually come, women have learned the value of organization and united, systematic work in securing the best and speediest results. It is no longer necessary to make an effort for further educational facilities. The few universities which still close their doors to women will ultimately be compelled to open them by the exigencies of the situation. There are no longer any fences around the industrial field, although men will continue to have the best pickings in the pasture so long as women are disfranchised. There will be a gradual yielding of the laws in recognition of woman's improved position in all departments, but here also there never will be complete equality until women themselves help to make laws and elect law-makers. In view of this indisputable fact, the advanced thinkers are agreed that the strongest efforts should be concentrated upon this point.

From that little convention at Seneca Falls, with a following of a handful of women scattered through half-a-dozen different States, we have now the great National Association, with headquarters in New York City, and auxiliaries in almost every State in the Union. These State bodies are effecting a thorough system of county and local organi-

zations for the purpose of securing legislation favorable to women, and especially to obtain amendments to their State Constitutions. As evidence of the progress of public opinion, more than half of the Legislatures in session, during the past winter, have discussed and voted upon bills for the enfranchisement of women, and in most of them they were adopted by one branch and lost by a very small majority in the other. The Legislatures of Washington and South Dakota have submitted woman-suffrage amendments to their electors for 1898, and vigorous campaigns will be made in those States during the next two years. For a quarter of a century Wyoming has stood as a conspicuous object-lesson in woman suffrage, and is now reinforced by the three neighboring States of Colorado, Utah, and Idaho. With this central group, standing on the very crest of the Rocky Mountains, the spirit of justice and freedom for women cannot fail to descend upon all the Western and Northwestern States. No one who makes a careful study of this question can help but believe that, in a very few years, all the States west of the Mississippi river will have enfranchised their women.

While the efforts of each State are concentrated upon its own Legislature, all of the States combined in the national organization are directing their energies toward securing a Sixteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States. The demands of this body have been received with respectful and encouraging attention from Congress. Hearings have been granted by the Committees of both Houses, resulting, in a number of instances, in favorable reports. Upon one occasion the question was brought to a discussion in the Senate, and received the affirmative vote of one-third of the members.

Until woman has obtained "that right protective of all other rights — the ballot," this agitation must still go on, absorbing the time and the energy of our best and strongest women. Who can measure the advantages that would result if the magnificent abilities of these women could be devoted to the needs of government, society, home, instead of being consumed in the struggle to obtain their birthright of individual freedom? Until this be gained we can never know, we cannot even prophesy, the capacity and power of woman for the uplifting of humanity. It may be delayed longer than we think, it may be here sooner than we expect, but the day will come when man will recognize woman as his peer, not only at the fireside, but in the councils of the nation. Then, and not until then, will there be the perfect comradeship, the ideal union between the sexes, that shall result in the highest development of the race. What this shall be we may not attempt to define, but this we know, that only good can come to the individual or to the nation through the rendering of exact justice.

## OUR DIPLOMATIC AND CONSULAR SERVICE.<sup>1</sup>

BY HERBERT H. D. PEIRCE,  
*Secretary of Legation at St. Petersburg.*

**B**ELIEVING that the apathy with which our diplomatic and consular service is too often regarded at home is due to our remoteness from the national life of other peoples, and hence to the absence of any particular stimulus to the study of the subject, the writer ventures, in advocating certain needs which personal experience and close study have clearly demonstrated to him as real and crying ones, to state, briefly, what the functions and *raison d'être* of our foreign representatives are.

From the earliest times, nations have found that questions of international importance arose requiring settlement among themselves. Questions of disputed boundary, the intercourse of peoples one with the other, difference in the laws of the various countries, international commerce, and the cupidity of sovereigns desirous of extending their dominions, all have created conflicts of view requiring settlement.

The effort to settle differences by arbitration rather than by the instinctive but costly method of resort to arms, early gave birth to the sending of envoys and, in Roman times, to the establishment of embassies for settlement by agreement and treaty of such vexed questions as could be determined by peaceful means, and to the consequent growth of an international law, the observance of the principles of which was recognized as essential to mutual protection among nations. Thus in the sixth century the Emperor Justinian defined the law of nations as "that law which natural reason has established among all mankind, and which is equally observed by all people."

With the advance of civilization the tendency to engage in warfare diminished, while greater attention was paid to the organization and regulation of the systems of embassies, and to the provision of peaceful means for the avoidance and settlement of disagreements; and in consequence greater respect began to be paid to international law, and greater care exercised in the drawing up of treaties and conventions.

The disorganization of the society of nations during the middle ages greatly retarded the growth of diplomatic relations among the European states, and it was not until near the seventeenth century that

<sup>1</sup> This article is published by permission of the Department of State.



there was any material revival of the system of legations, nor until after the peace of Westphalia that they began to be permanently and reciprocally established between the various states.

International law, like civil law, international treaties, like private contracts, can only lessen the liability to disputes; they cannot prevent them. But while, under civil law, courts of judicature can decide upon the respective rights of disputants, there is no competent judicial authority for the interpretation and application of the laws of nations. Each nation interprets for itself, at its own capital, the principles of these laws; and it is of the highest importance to each of the other nations to retain upon the spot, at that capital, competent and learned counsel of acknowledged ability, to plead the views of his own government, not only in cases immediately affecting that government, but in those where it may have only a collateral interest, and to watch the course of events and become familiar with those circumstances and accidents which may influence the mind of the interpreting authority. This then is an important function of the diplomatic agent. The success with which he is able to perform this function must largely depend upon his mental attainments, his force of character, and the respect and regard which are entertained both for him personally and for his government at the court near which he resides.

Upon the degree of respect and regard personally entertained for the diplomatic representative will depend in very great measure his usefulness to his own country. As he must first of all be "*persona grata*" at the court near which he is to reside, in order to be acceptable, so the more he is "*grata*" the more acceptable, influential, and useful will he be in every way. Moreover, it is a part of his duty to make his country not only respected, but *liked*, both by the governing classes and among the people at large; to promote, in short, a sentiment of affection for his countrymen in the country of his residence. To this end his own personal popularity will be of the utmost consequence. From time to time we hear the expression "toadying" applied to the diplomatic function. The epithet is not only undignified, but insulting to both the nations in question. Great nations do not "toady," for this implies an attitude of servility. Whatever amenities pass between diplomatic officers and the exponents of the government near which they reside, are devoid of personal significance, and simply express that international good feeling in which it is to be hoped our own country will never be behind.

But the diplomatic representative is first and foremost the agent of his government and country in the country to which he is accredited, or, in other words, of his own sovereign's government at the seat of government of the sovereign near whom he resides, the sovereign being in any case the source of power, whether sovereignty be vested in the per-

son of a ruler or in the will of the whole people, as constitutionally manifested.

It has been an oft-repeated proposition that the telegraph will do away with the necessity of diplomacy. This belief cannot be for a moment entertained by anyone familiar with international affairs. So far from this being true, the contrary is the case; the telegraph has greatly increased the duties and labor of the diplomatic officer.

The etiquette of the society of nations as at present constructed does not permit of either sovereigns or their governments entering into immediate correspondence upon their affairs, even were it possible. Nor can important negotiations generally, even between great private corporations, be conducted without personal intermediaries, qualified to arrive at agreement by discussion. Those of governments must be in the first instance tentative and wholly noncommittal; hence the more need of such intermediaries.

It is sometimes argued that we are sufficient unto ourselves and have no need of international relations, which seem to be unaccountably confused in certain minds with the "entangling alliances" which it has always been our policy to shun. The opinion is as ill-founded as is the association of ideas. Of necessity we belong to the community of nations, and can no more disregard that great community than can the individual man disregard his fellows in his social surroundings.

Small as is the bulk of our commerce and business with Russia, as compared to that with the western nations of Europe, great as is the physical and political distance between the great republic and the empire of the tzars, still the official correspondence of our legation at St. Petersburg for the year 1896 amounts to 2,300 communications received and sent, many of which were of considerable length.

As the agent of his government, it is the diplomatic representative's duty, not alone to transmit its views to the government to which he is accredited, and to pursue, under the instructions of his government, the negotiation of such affairs as may arise between the two powers, but also to keep his government accurately informed of all that occurs in the country of his residence which in any way affects the government of that country or its present policy, or which may have a material bearing upon future policies, whether as regards his own country or that of others; to transmit intelligence of the general trend of sentiment of the people, and especially of the governing classes of the people, regarding political affairs; to report from time to time upon the progress of the country in the march of civilization, giving such information as may lead to a just estimate of its financial strength and its progress in the arts and sciences, and in agriculture and manufactures; to give information concerning changes in its tariffs, taxation, population, and

laws; and to supply all available statistics, maps, and other data which may assist in forming an accurate and complete knowledge of the country in which it is his official duty to reside.

Through their diplomatic agents, nations conduct the negotiation of treaties, conventions, and agreements, one with the other, give expression to their wishes and sentiments, exchange courtesies and correspondence. For, from the nature of things, governments cannot in general communicate with each other through such channels as are open to individuals.

Finally, it is the duty of the diplomatic agent to extend to the citizens of his own state, visiting or inhabiting the country of his residence, such assistance and protection as they may be entitled to receive, under treaty or under international law; to use his utmost endeavors to secure justice for them, under the laws of the country where they find themselves; to issue to them passports; and to aid them by his advice in all that relates to their status as such citizens.

Such are the principal duties of the diplomatic agent. It will be seen not only that they are varied, but that they call for a high degree of intelligence and for education of a wide range, together with close observation, application, and industry; for tact, judgment, and the habit and use of social amenities, which must, however, be combined with decided force of character.

These qualities should be supplemented by substantial means with which to maintain, at the seat of government to which he is accredited, the dignity and prestige due to the representative of a great power. The greater the power he represents, and the greater the dignity claimed for him as representing such power, the greater should be the outward signs, by which all men are more or less affected, of that power and that dignity.

A nation's power is primarily based upon its resources, the energy of its people, and its prosperity. That is to say, apart from the dignity to which its institutions may in themselves entitle it, these are the prime factors which make its influence weighty in its effect on international affairs, and which enable it to compel the respect of other nations to those doctrines and policies which it sets up as essential to its well-being and self-preservation.

A policy of parsimony in equipping diplomatic representatives with the means to maintain those signs of prosperity can only react unfavorably upon the influence at the court where he resides of the country which sends him.

Apart, however, from these considerations, a man occupied with the important affairs of a great nation should not be hampered with considerations of the petty economies of life. The nature of his mis-

sion requires him to maintain intimate social relations with the officials of the government to which he is accredited and with his colleagues of the diplomatic corps. Such relations are best kept up by the free interchange of social visits and of such entertainments as are the custom of the country. It would hardly comport with the national dignity that these should be accepted and not reciprocated in some measure; and as these courtesies are offered to him, not in person, but as the representative of his government, national pride as well as simple justice should dictate that his public emoluments be sufficient to cover these expenses, and not as at present compel him to drain his own private resources in an effort to maintain in a suitable manner the national dignity. It is unnecessary to enlarge upon the subject of the expense of maintaining social relations in a great capital; and whatever may be the common impression with regard to it, the cost in European capitals is not less than in our own great cities.

A diplomatic agent, to be well equipped for the best performance of his functions, should possess experience in affairs and a liberal education of the widest character as a foundation, to which should be added a highly specialized knowledge of universal history, of political economy, of the science of diplomacy, of the history of treaties, of constitutional and international law, together with a fluent familiarity with at least French, to which the more languages he can add, the greater will be his usefulness.

French is the universal language employed in diplomatic society, and the general medium of intercourse at foreign courts. The Minister of Foreign Affairs may happen to speak English, but he is *sure* to speak French, and, except in England, to be more at home and readier to express himself in that language than in any other foreign to him. The written communications addressed to the diplomatic agent will be either in the language of the country of his residence or in French; and to read them through the medium of a translation is, at best, to arrive at their meaning at second hand.

The many and varied duties of the chief of a diplomatic mission require that he should be ably seconded and assisted in his labors by a competent secretary of legation. The duties of a secretary of legation, and especially of a first secretary, if there be more than one, as at all important missions there should be, are as manifold as those of his chief, although of course subordinate to them. He is, by international usage and by law, a "public minister." The same educational attainments are quite as important for him as for the minister; and very much the same natural qualities are necessary. Aside from his duties regarding the care and arrangement of the voluminous archives and correspondence of the mission, transcribing despatches and documents, and classifying

correspondence, as received, for convenient reference; and from his duty of keeping himself thoroughly *au courant* with the course of negotiations in each case and retaining always in his mind its exact status; he must in addition be able to discreetly supplement his chief in all his duties, gathering all such facts as he can obtain, and keeping the minister fully informed of them, cultivating friendly social relations with all ministers of the government and the members of the diplomatic corps; he must familiarize himself with the *entourage* of all the ministries and with their methods and manner of transacting business, and must extend his acquaintance and means of gathering information in every possible direction. In case of the absence of the chief of mission, he must be qualified and prepared to take upon himself the conduct of its business as *chargé d'affaires* during the interim. He must acquire a thorough familiarity with all the forms of etiquette of the country to which he is accredited, especially with that belonging to its official life; and he must gain an intimate knowledge of its geography and people, and of its laws and the procedure in civil and criminal courts. It is needless to say that he must be well versed in the construction which his own government puts upon the principles of public, and its attitude regarding private, international law; in the drawing up of state papers and the significance to be attached to the phraseology usually employed in such documents.<sup>1</sup>

Most governments give the title of *conseiller* (counsellor) to the first secretaries of their embassies and more important missions; but this grade does not exist in our service nor in that of England, although upon the diplomatic list of Russia the English first secretary of embassy is so described. England sometimes appoints at important posts a minister of the second or third class to act as and perform the duties of secretary; in which case he is accredited as such minister performing the functions of *conseiller* or of first secretary. France also sometimes adopts a similar practice.

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<sup>1</sup>Our government does not definitely state what the duties of secretaries are, contenting itself with saying in its instructions: "The general duties and obligations of a Secretary of Legation are, from their nature, little susceptible of minute definition, and must, therefore, in a great measure be governed by circumstances, or ascertained by the growing experience of the Minister and yourself."

The regulations of the British diplomatic service describe them as follows:

"The Secretary of Embassy or Legation must be deemed to hold, as regards the Chief of the Mission, the same position which an Under Secretary of State holds as regards the Secretary of State, and therefore the whole public business of the Embassy or Mission should pass through his hands, and, subject to the orders of the Chief, should be carried on under his superintendence."

"The public and official despatches and papers will, if not opened by the Ambassador or Minister himself upon their arrival, reach him through the Secretary of Embassy or Legation; and the directions of the Chief in regard to all matters of public business will pass through the Secretary, and be executed under his superintendence and control. The principle on which this regulation is founded scarcely needs an explanation, for it is obvious that the public interests require that the Secretary, who may, at any moment, in consequence of the absence of the Chief, be called upon to conduct the public business on his own responsibility, should be kept fully informed as to the course of these matters with which he may have to deal."



At most of our more important missions, two secretaries are employed. In those of several other countries, there are three or four, besides "*attachés*," who are junior officers attached to missions to perform clerical work and learn the duties of the diplomatic service. Great Britain maintains at Paris seven secretaries and six civil *attachés*. Formerly such *attachés* formed a part of the *personnel* of our own service, but they have unfortunately been abolished. Their restoration would obviate the necessity of employing foreign and unsworn clerks, who, under the present system, are essential to the prompt transaction of business.

Each nation decides for itself what degree of dignity is to be accorded to its diplomatic representative, by assigning to him such rank as the importance of the relations between the two countries and their own national dignity seem to indicate as appropriate. Obviously the higher the rank the greater the expense of the mission. The degree in grade is usually the subject of mutual agreement; for "usage requires that they [nations] should send and receive ministers of the same rank" (*Wheaton*). The classification of the grades of diplomatic agents was settled and agreed upon by the powers at the Congress of Vienna, on March 19, 1813, and that of Aix-la-Chapelle, Nov. 21, 1818, as follows: they take precedence in the order given:

1. Ambassadors, papal legates or nuncios.
2. Envoys, ministers, or others accredited to the sovereign.
3. Ministers resident, accredited to the sovereign.
4. *Chargés d'affaires* accredited to the Minister of Foreign Affairs.

These different grades are accorded ceremonials varying according to their rank. A minister of the first rank, that is to say, an ambassador, is the personal representative of the sovereign, and receives such honors as may be supposed to belong to the sovereign's personal deputy. He takes precedence of all other diplomatic agents, both upon occasions of ceremony and in the transaction of business. Thus several ministers plenipotentiary (or ministers of the second rank) may be awaiting their turn for interviews with the Minister of Foreign Affairs; should an ambassador, however, arrive meantime, they must give place to the ambassador. As the personal deputy of his sovereign, he must, from the very nature of things, maintain a scale of living greatly beyond that necessary for a minister plenipotentiary.

The meagre compensation paid to our foreign diplomatic officers has ever been a notorious and discreditable evil. What was true in the times of Adams, of Monroe, and of Livingston, is equally true to-day, although changes have been made in the manner of compensation. But if these changes have operated to increase the compensation, the cost of living has at the same time increased so much that the

comparative conditions remain much the same. In 1816, Mr. Monroe wrote to the chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means, as follows :

The character of the country, if not its rank, is in some degree affected by that which is maintained by its ministers abroad. Their utility in all the great objects of their mission is essentially dependent on it. A minister can be useful only by filling his place with credit in the diplomatic corps, and in the corresponding circle of society in the country in which he resides, which is the best in every country. By taking the proper ground, if he possesses the proper qualifications, and is furnished with adequate means, he will become acquainted with all that passes, and from the highest and most authentic sources. Inspiring confidence by reposing it in those who deserve it, and by an honorable deportment in other respects, he will have much influence, especially in what relates to his own country. Deprive him of the necessary means to sustain this ground, separate him from the circle to which he belongs, and he is reduced to a cypher. He may collect intelligence from adventurers and spies, but it will be of comparatively little value, and in other respects he had as well not be there.

It would be easy to quote, from the time of John Quincy Adams down to the present day, ample testimony to the need of more liberal payment of our foreign representatives. Two passages from Mr. Livingston's report as Secretary of State to President Jackson in 1833 are so much to the point that they can hardly be omitted ; indeed all that is contained in the report upon this subject is well worth careful attention at the present day. Speaking of the diligent labors of our ministers abroad, labors little understood or appreciated at home, but of which the Secretary well knew the arduous nature, he says :

Even the merit of their correspondence, from which, at least, the reward of honor might be delivered, is hid in the archives of the Department and rarely sees the light, and except in the instance of a successful negotiation for claims, a minister returns to his country, after years of the most laborious exertion of the highest talent, with an injured, if not a broken fortune, his countrymen ignorant of his exertions, and undervaluing them perhaps if known. . . . If, then, none of the ministers we have sent abroad, however prudent, have been able to live on the salaries that are allowed them, the conclusion is inevitable that the salaries ought to be increased, or the ministers should be recalled. If the mission is useful, it ought to be supported at the public, not private, expense, and the representatives of a great nation ought not to be obliged to employ, in devising parsimonious expedients for their support, that time and those talents which ought to be occupied in the service of their country.

The following year, Mr. Livingston was sent as United States minister to Paris, a position he resigned within a few months, finding the salary inadequate to his support as the diplomatic representative of a great country.

The expense of living, as has been said above, and especially of living on the scale required by a diplomatic officer, is not less in London, Paris, Berlin, or St. Petersburg than in Washington, New York, Chicago, or San Francisco, where a costly establishment and a free scale of entertaining could not be maintained upon the salary of one of

our ministers. The head of none of our great commercial enterprises would consider an annual expenditure of \$17,500 sufficient to enable him to live in a manner suited to his condition and dignity.<sup>1</sup> Should not the representatives of our great country's government, with the eyes of all the world upon them, and charged with the duty of supporting their country's dignity, be enabled to live as well as the private citizen of his own land?

But if our chiefs of missions are underpaid, what is to be said of the rest of our diplomatic officers? A first secretary of embassy or legation receives the munificent sum of \$2,625 a year! He must go to court to every function. He must maintain an establishment of considerable expense, and must to some extent entertain company, in order to fulfil his duties properly. If he is married, he cannot with decency live upon his salary in the plainest and simplest manner. The consequence is a constant drain upon his individual resources.

In the English diplomatic service the same officer receives £1,000, besides his travelling expenses to and from his post, and an extra allowance as bonus for the acquisition of certain languages.

We are told that in spite of the salary there are plenty of applicants for these posts. It is doubtless true that there is a considerable class of people who look upon these offices as sinecures, which require but little work and offer great social opportunities. Such a candidate is not likely to be a very assiduous public servant, and it seems questionable whether this point of view is one from which it is well to select the public officials of a great republic. Appointments of this nature have not, in the experience of our diplomatic service, been generally very useful or creditable.

On the whole, there is scarcely an office of which the duties, properly performed, are more arduous, more responsible, and less fairly appreciated, than that of a minister to a country with which we have important commercial relations. Yet there is some reason to believe that appointments to them are eagerly sought from the same false ideas of the nature of the employment. To these mistaken ideas may be traced many of the evils which have operated, and still operate, injuriously upon the interests and reputation of the country. (Livingston.)

The other branch of our foreign representation, the consular service, while it is in a certain sense dependent on the diplomatic service, is quite distinct from it in the character of its functions, its duties, and its governmental relations. No social or court obligations and no questions of policies devolve upon the consul.

He is the commercial agent of his government. His duties call for a thorough knowledge of the language of the country in which he

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<sup>1</sup> Great Britain pays her envoy to Mexico as much as we pay our ambassadors to first-class powers, while her ambassadors receive from £5,500 to £9,000, the average being £7,314, in addition to house rent. And all British diplomatic officers receive a handsome allowance as outfit on going to a new post, in addition to their travelling expenses and salaries.

resides, as well as of the admiralty laws of his own country and that of his residence; some acquaintance with the principles of international and constitutional law; and a large knowledge of commercial affairs. He should and indeed must be a man of sterling integrity and of character to command respect.

He is the local magistrate representing his country in the place of his residence for all matters falling within the jurisdiction of its laws, as in matters of dispute between the master and crew of any vessel coming into the port for which he is the consul. A vessel is to a certain extent legally outside of the territory and jurisdiction of the foreign country in which it happens to be, and within that of the country under whose flag it is entitled to sail. It and its seamen are therefore to a considerable extent under the protection of the consulate of that country, and by consequence are under certain obligations to it in payment of fees, etc. These fees are collected by the consul, and must be carefully accounted for by him and remitted to his government.

He must assist the citizens of his country in obtaining their just rights under the local laws, but must do this with the tact never to exceed his authority, referring and appealing all questions which pass that limit to his government's diplomatic representative in the country. He is competent to perform marriages, administer oaths, and do all notarial acts. He settles estates of his countrymen dying in the place of his residence, and certifies invoices of goods exported to his own country, without which certified invoice such goods, under our laws, cannot pass the custom house. He must make frequent reports to his government upon the commerce, health, agriculture, trade, manufactures, inventions, exchange, and general statistics of the locality in which he resides. These are the principal duties, generally stated, of the majority of consuls. In certain countries, chiefly uncivilized ones, certain judicial powers are added.

For the proper organization of the service, it is classified into various grades. These are consuls general, consuls not permitted to engage in trade, consuls permitted thus to engage, and commercial agents. Besides these are various minor offices, as vice and deputy consuls general and consuls, consular clerks, interpreters, etc. It would be surprising if a consul newly arrived at his post, and having no previous experience, were at once competent to fill all the many duties of his office without guidance; and, as a matter of fact, in our service, at all the important consulates, there is some clerk or other officer who has had long enough experience at the post to be able to keep up the routine and advise his chief of the usual course of procedure. In fact, it is generally not until a consul has been for some time at his post, that his services begin to be of very much value to his govern-

ment, and by the time he has become really efficient, he is unfortunately generally supplanted by a new appointee.

The requirements for real usefulness in both the diplomatic and consular service include a more advanced degree of education, and knowledge of a highly specialized character. The more highly specialized the information of either a diplomatic or consular officer, the more useful he will be to his government. Yet of all the walks of life, these services are generally regarded in America as being those which any novice may most readily take up without preparation. The result cannot be other than detrimental to our prestige in foreign countries. As we would not put a ship into the hands of a commander ignorant of navigation, an army under the control of a general without military training, a suit at law into the hands of a counsel who had never opened a law book, a suffering wife or child under the care of a person wholly unskilled in medicine; so we should not put the foreign affairs of our government into the hands of men without knowledge of the various subjects which go to make up diplomatic science and consular efficiency.

To cite special examples of great efficiency in the diplomatic service of our own or other countries without previous special experience, does not at all contravene the statement that such experience is in general necessary. Genius is not the rule, nor can it be hoped that it will always be at hand. The organization of a permanent diplomatic and consular service, with a system of promotions, need not necessarily prevent the filling of the more important offices from time to time by men of exceptional capacity and character. Indeed, in the service of Great Britain, as of other countries, this often takes place. But the permanent organization of our consular and diplomatic service, the regular training of candidates for it, the ordinary promotion of its members from grade to grade, would be of inestimable advantage to our foreign relations and to the efficiency and value of our public servants abroad. A bill now before the Senate presented by Hon. H. C. Lodge covers many of the needs of such an organized service; if it falls short in some important particulars, it is doubtless because it is believed to be all the country is at present prepared to accept and understand. It leaves, however, the chiefs of missions out of the organized service, proposing to fill these offices as at present; and the office of secretary of legation, upon a maximum salary of \$3,000 a year, becomes the *highest point* in the career which a member of the service can hope to attain unless he takes a position inferior in the *accepted rank* and becomes consul general upon a salary of \$5,000. This hardly seems to be a tempting inducement to men of such calibre as should constitute the diplomatic service of a great nation. Whether we should greatly gain



in the quality of the *personnel* of the diplomatic branch of our service under it, is open to question.

While some of our consuls are at present overpaid, the majority are, like all of our diplomatic officers, underpaid. The offices are much sought, in the mistaken belief that life is cheaper anywhere than in America. The incumbent generally finds, after he has dissolved his business connections at home, that he has made a mistake, from a financial point of view, and if he wishes to remain long in office, it is usually either because he does not know what else to do, or because he has some special reasons apart from the compensation.

We have recently awakened to the belief that so great a country as ours, exercising so great an influence upon the affairs and policies of the world as the United States does, should be duly equipped with a navy which shall stand before the nations of the world as palpable evidence of our power. We take pride in the appearance of our "white cruisers" and in the admiration which they excite in foreign ports. Their use is to prevent war, not to make it. It would be a sorry sight to see them shabbily kept, their officers ununiformed and without discipline, uneducated for their duties, and not the honored members of a fixed and regularly organized service.

Are we to continue to send out to foreign countries those other promoters of the respect due to our great nation, the officers of the diplomatic and consular service, shabbily equipped, untrained, chosen not for fitness, but to pay debts due to politicians, and devoid of the organization of a great service, which, both by *esprit de corps* and by self-interest in the hope of promotion, fosters and stimulates the best energies?

A great, enlightened, prosperous, and powerful country, like the United States, owes it to itself to see that it is represented abroad by a diplomatic and consular service at least as good as the very best; and with our resources and social system, we could easily make our own better than the very best now existing in the world. It would not be difficult to go further, and to say that the diplomatic service of the United States could and ought to be the model for the world, as is our policy of neutrality, a policy, by the way, which could not be maintained without a diplomatic service. Two of the greatest authorities upon international law, Wheaton and Cabro, have been citizens of American republics. Our isolation from neighboring states puts us in an exceptional position to take a high and impartial view of human rights and international law. We have had great and distinguished men to represent us in many capitals, and their activity and influence have been of untold benefit to us. Unfortunately no sooner are they well known in the capitals of the world, than a change of administration

recalls them to their own country. The difficulty with which Baron von Humboldt was made to understand that our government was really willing to part with the services of so distinguished and valuable a diplomatic officer as the illustrious Wheaton is a commentary upon the difference in principle between our government and that of other nations in regard to the diplomatic service.

• We can and ought to secure throughout our entire foreign service, and in every rank of it, men of the highest intelligence, education, and aims; but to do this we must first offer them a career in which their tenure would be secure. Most of all we should pay them sufficient salaries, and not compel them to ruin themselves in the service of their government.

Lastly, our foreign embassies and legations and the residences of our diplomatic officers are by the usage of nations American soil. It ill becomes our dignity that such territory, a piece of our own dominion, should be hired for the purpose from foreigners, as chance or as price may dictate. At least in every great capital our flag should float over a fixed and permanent dwelling-place of our own national authority, as do those of England, France, Germany, and Austria, over their embassies and legations.

## CONCILIATION *vs.* ARBITRATION.

BY PROFESSOR COURTENAY DE KALB.

**H**ISTORY affords no other example of a great nation so persistently devoted to peaceful industry as the United States. It is an example of the natural tendencies of human society which always make for peace when there are no external conditions of political and commercial rivalry which may lead to a conflict of arms. Our continental expansion, coupled with our isolated position, has rendered the triumph of a peace policy possible within our borders. This fortunate situation was early recognized, and its importance insisted upon by our ablest statesmen, resulting in the development of that dual policy of non-interference in European politics on the one hand, and of resistance of any extension of European influence in the Western Hemisphere on the other. These are but necessary counterparts, the one of the other, by means of which we may realize the full benefits of our geographical position, and continue in our pursuit of industry undisturbed by the alarms of war. The prime object to be aimed at, which our peculiar circumstances render so easy of attainment, is the preservation of our institutions and of our international rights. Peace, with its manifold blessings, follows as a natural consequence upon our success in that, and is not attainable otherwise. Hence, while it is our duty to adhere to the principle of peaceful dealings with other nations whenever possible, it is our higher duty to resist the curtailment of those natural rights which, if violated, might impose limitations upon our proper and normal development.

Our inherent strength, resulting from our numbers, our geographical position, our spirit as a free, liberty-loving, and generous people, together with our fixed determination to avoid unnecessary collisions, has rendered feasible a frequent resort to arbitration as a mode of settling disputes with foreign powers. Thus we have become *par excellence* the arbitrating nation of the world. We have discovered and acted upon the fact that our strength was sufficient to compel the award of justice by judicial process. The eminent success attending this substitution of arbitration for war has awakened a popular enthusiasm for the method which has unfortunately encouraged a false notion that arbitration in itself is capable of insuring peace and justice, whereas it is sufficiency of strength to command respect abroad that has enabled us to employ this means to achieve so desirable an end. It admits of serious inquiry whether the benefits accruing from special

arbitration would be so pronounced if compulsory arbitration should be made the rule. In fact, under a compulsory system, with provision for definite settlement of disputes, it would completely subserve all those interests of governments which are promoted not alone by pacific measures, but by material strength as well.

There are but three functions of war, first, for aggression, — either territorial, commercial, or political aggrandizement; second, to prevent invasion of rights; and third, to secure redress for injuries received. In the great majority of instances similar ends are attained by diplomatic negotiation and by arbitration, with only occasional resort to open war, an adequate military footing being relied upon as a menace to incline the negotiators to moderation in their demands or protests. Thus the military power of a nation is actively effective equally in times of peace as in times of war. Indeed, leaving aggression out of sight, the chief virtue of national military strength, when used in coöperation with a competent administration of foreign affairs, is that it resists the beginnings of trouble. A nation will consider well its cause, and will be sure that there is at least a reasonable doubt as to the side on which justice lies, before raising a question with another government which is able and disposed to maintain its rights. The scandalous difference in the behavior of the great nations toward each other and toward those of lesser rank, which is conspicuously in evidence somewhere every year, leaves no room for argument upon this point. It must be observed that there are warrantable and unwarrantable controversies between governments. In the pursuance of a predetermined policy a nation may set up pretensions which are wholly unjustifiable. Such pretensions can only be met by firm resistance, without entailing sacrifice of rights. The ordinary modes of peaceful settlement invariably result in compromise, which in cases of this kind involves a surrender to some extent to the aggressor, but for the sake of avoiding destructive war compromise is frequently arranged even under these circumstances. Where a doubt may exist as to the respective rights of two nations, the course of diplomacy is directed toward a determination of the facts, or if these cannot be clearly ascertained, then toward a compromise which may not be prejudicial to the higher interests of either of the contestants. If the certainty regarding any case become known, no power could insist upon unjust claims without losing the sympathy of other nations. It may be averred that when the uncertainties which may have hovered about a question have been entirely removed, the only avenue to a satisfactory peaceful settlement lies through ordinary diplomatic negotiation, aided perhaps by friendly mediation. Where the mists of uncertainty cannot be wholly dissipated by such light as the disputing governments may throw upon the

question, arbitration may properly be resorted to, in which case the award will, in part at least, involve a compromise. The settlement of a dispute without war, then, reduces itself in the first place to a determination of the fact, or so much of the fact as may be ascertainable, followed by a basis of agreement for composing the difficulty. In reaching an agreement it not unfrequently happens that the contestants will more willingly submit to the sense of justice and fairness of disinterested parties in rendering a decision, than accept the proposals for compromise advanced by either of the parties to the controversy. Here is where arbitration finds its peculiar field, such tribunals passing upon the facts themselves, and deciding what shall be the future rights and obligations of the litigants as to particular matters.

There are, however, certain conditions precedent to arbitration as now conducted. It must first be decided that the question is arbitrable, that is, that it does not involve the national honor, or affect those conditions which are essential to the existence of either nation, or to the enjoyment of their natural rights as free and sovereign peoples. Next, the limitations of the jurisdiction of the tribunal must be accurately defined, else it may exceed in its review the questions at issue, and involve further difficulty by rendering the decision repugnant to one of the parties litigant. Also, any controverted points in international law, whose decision is necessary before the questions in dispute can be judged by a court, must be explicitly agreed to in advance. Although such an agreement is often almost tantamount to a settlement of the concrete case, it is comparatively easy to reach an understanding upon abstract general principles. A court of arbitration is by its nature incompetent to decide new points in international law. The Hon. E. J. Phelps well says regarding this matter<sup>1</sup>:

Beyond cases turning upon questions of fact, arbitration, however plausible in theory, is not likely to be found practicable. In cases involving questions of law, which means of course international law, it is not available. . . . Unlike a court of justice, which deals with municipal law and is empowered to extend its principles to every case of new impression, so that there can be no dispute too novel or too difficult to be decided, an arbitration cannot extend the rules of international law beyond what is already established, since those rules find their only sanction and authority in the general consent of nations. The inquiry in every case is, therefore, whether the proposition advanced has received such assent. If not, however justifiable in itself, it is idle to expect arbitrators, empowered only by the agreement of two nations to decide a particular case, to take it upon themselves to enlarge the law of nations, and to add to its existing rules any new proposition. . . . Hence no rule of law can be adopted by such a court unless it can be shown to have been previously acquiesced in; and arbitration can be useful in no case depending upon a question of international law, except those cases in which it will be unnecessary, since the point involved will have been already settled.

Finally, in a large number of cases, where questions of right and

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<sup>1</sup> "Arbitration and our Relations with England." *Atlantic Monthly*, July, 1896.



privilege are at stake, it is absolutely imperative that a *modus vivendi* shall be arranged to prevent serious friction or the accumulation of large pecuniary claims of the one nation against the other, while the arbitration is pending. Such are the conditions essential for the successful application of special arbitration, whereby it has been found possible to obviate an armed collision when difficulties have reached too acute a stage for adjustment by the diplomatic representatives of governments.

Compulsory arbitration, however, introduces some new features. As previously indicated it lends itself to abuse in the interests of aggression, and may indeed become a more powerful weapon for despoiling nations of their rights than mere armed strength alone. As it is a recognized principle of international law that treaties should be made in good faith and honorably observed, the guarantee against warlike demonstration contained in a treaty for general arbitration, until a case falling within it shall have been reviewed by an authorized tribunal, eliminates one of the chief dangers of advancing unjust claims or of setting up unwarrantable pretensions. Advantage can accordingly be taken of technical subtleties for pressing issues which should never have been raised, and which would not have been attempted except under the safe cover of such a treaty. Large interests of one nation may thus be placed in jeopardy by another, and the conduct of trade seriously disturbed, through the mere questioning of rights, which perforce must be submitted to arbitration, whereby they may be injuriously compromised. Compulsory arbitration, therefore, opens a convenient channel for an aggrandizing nation to harass another, making substantial gains whether the immediate outcome of its efforts be to secure temporary or permanent enlargement of its field of action.

A second function of obligatory arbitration, as of war, is to prevent the infraction of rights of the offended nation. To a considerable extent it is effective for this purpose, although as shown it fails through inviting disputes rather than resisting their beginnings, and through subjecting national rights and privileges to the danger of restriction. Furthermore, it may often lead to a definitive settlement of questions which could have been easily accommodated by diplomacy with substantial advantage, both present and future, to the nation whose interests were threatened.

The third function of obligatory arbitration, which completes the parallelism between arbitration and armed force as aids in conducting the extraordinary relations between governments, is that of securing redress for injuries actually inflicted. Arrival at this stage in cases of protracted dispute usually indicates original weakness, either in diplomacy or in available fighting equipment, on the part of the injured nation. The notorious controversy over the Alabama claims is an excel-

lent illustration. The aid rendered to the Southern Confederacy could not be resisted at the time, owing to our internal disturbances. By this means Great Britain was able to inflict permanent injuries upon our maritime commerce, to the corresponding benefit of her own. The dictates of wisdom naturally led to an adjustment of the difficulty by arbitration. The damage had been done; it was largely against commerce, which could not be benefited by war; a simple indemnity, therefore, with the far more important guarantee against a recurrence of similar episodes, was as sufficient redress as could be obtained under the circumstances. A definitive settlement of the points at issue in such a case is of the highest importance, and it is to be noted that the contention of most serious difficulty, concerning the duties of government in respect of belligerent rights, was settled by diplomacy in drawing up the treaty referring this question to a tribunal. Redress does not necessarily mean restitution, — it would have been practically impossible in the Alabama case, — but it should involve reparation, which is most satisfactorily achieved through perfect assurance against a repetition of similar injuries. Hence the full and definite settlement which is obtained through the process of arbitration is here peculiarly efficient.

Having now reviewed in some measure the office of arbitration, and the conditions precedent to it, and having observed the difference in effect between special and compulsory general arbitration, the proposed treaty between the United States and Great Britain may be more easily considered. In the first place it is wanting in definiteness. Neither its advocates nor its opponents are able to reach an agreement among themselves as to the range of cases to which it may be applicable. This ambiguity is particularly striking in Article IV, which reads :

All pecuniary claims or groups of pecuniary claims which shall exceed £100,000 in amount and *all other matters in difference*, in respect of which either of the High Contracting Parties shall have *rights* against the other under Treaty or *otherwise*, provided that such matters in difference do not involve the determination of territorial claims, shall be dealt with and decided by an Arbitral Tribunal, constituted as provided in the next following Article.

Examination of the treaty will show that provision has been made for reaching a *final* settlement of all disputes falling within the operation of this Article. But there is no limit to its operation except as regards territorial claims, and efforts to withhold the most vital interests of the nation from the jurisdiction of a court in which the casting vote is held by a foreigner, could only lead to friction easily more dangerous than the original cause of disagreement, since England would have a right under the treaty to demand the submission of the case to arbitration. It would be practically impossible in a large number of instances to draw a line between what might be construed as a right and a matter of policy, so that the question of exclusion of a case from the operation of the

treaty, even if amended so as to make such a reservation, would be technically indeterminable. An ambiguity of so serious a nature can only become a prolific source of discord and conflict.

Another difficulty, which is liable to engender trouble that will defeat the purpose of the treaty, is its failure to provide for engagements respecting the rulings which shall be accepted as law in judging matters involving legal questions of a novel character. Accordingly in the very application of this convention recourse would frequently of necessity be had to special treaties in order to carry it into effect. Similarly its failure to provide for a *modus vivendi*, where necessary, would compel the negotiation of special supplementary conventions, and this places the non-aggressive nation at a distinct disadvantage, for it is easy to see that, being under an obligation to arbitrate, such a nation might be forced to accept less equitable terms than would have been suggested had the hands of both parties been free in the transaction.

Again, so far as relates to the adjudication of territorial claims, the court to which such cases are to be referred is merely "the creature of the parties litigant." In addition to the legal absurdity involved in this provision, the majority of five to one required for a final decision means simply that no conclusive award could be obtained, and that the tension between the two nations would become more severely strained than before. The highly explosive character of this article is recognized in the treaty itself, which further states that,

In the event of an award made by less than the prescribed majority and protested as above provided, or if the members of the Arbitral Tribunal shall be equally divided, there shall be no recourse to hostile measures of any description until the mediation of one or more friendly Powers has been invited by one or both of the High Contracting Parties.

The only practical effect which can be foreseen as liable to issue from this article is an encouragement of aggression in the hope of some advantage to be gained thereby, and the treaty as a whole seems to afford greater probabilities of danger and dissension than of the triumph of peace and justice. Our object as a people is to maintain relations of amity and concord with all other nations. We are not seeking aggrandizement, nor would we knowingly pursue an unjust course toward any, but a new generation has come to the front since the clash of arms has been heard in our midst, and other generations are coming forward to whom the events of the Civil War read still more like ancient history. Their temper has not been subdued by knowledge of the realities of warfare, and they will be correspondingly quicker to resent injustice. So we can ill afford to undertake a novel experiment with defective machinery that may only prove an inciting cause to perilous friction.

It is an open question whether we can improve upon our historic system of resort to special arbitration, but there is a method, more

efficient and far less dangerous than compulsory arbitration, which may be applied for the attainment of those humane purposes which we all so earnestly desire. This is the provision by treaty for referring all disputes to a Court of Conciliation and Inquiry, which has been suggested by some of our most eminent jurists. Its main object would be the simple ascertainment of the facts by exhaustive investigation. It could report these facts, with proofs, and determine the accepted rulings of international law which would be applicable to the case in hand. It could with propriety go further, in unusual cases, and suggest principles which might justly be incorporated into international law as covering matters of the kind under consideration. With a general provision in advance as to the basis on which a *modus vivendi* should be arranged when requisite, no objection could be raised to submitting any class of disputes to the review of such a court. It would offer even less encouragement to aggression than exists to-day. Finally, the moral effect of a decisive declaration upon the facts and extenuating circumstances relative to any concrete case would insure an honorable adjustment of the difficulty in the light of the revelations of so impartial an inquiry. The delay incident to such a process, with a general expectation that the truth would ere long become available, would dispose the public to moderation, and thus facilitate the conclusion of disagreeable episodes by customary diplomatic methods. Moreover, such a termination of controversies is rarely difficult when the facts are known, but as a last resort the matter could be referred to an arbitral tribunal for the assessment of damages or the exact determination of the future rights, privileges, or obligations of the disputants.

Arbitration for its own sake is not necessarily desirable. What we are seeking is a means to an end, namely, the preservation at one and the same time of our institutions untrammelled by foreign interference, of our rights as an independent and sovereign nation, and of international peace as between ourselves and others. Three courses, beyond the common channels of diplomacy, are suggested to us for achieving this result, Special Arbitration, Compulsory General Arbitration, and Conciliation. It is our duty to choose that one which, leaving sentiment aside, seems freest from dangers, and surest to promote the higher good of our country and the world by progress in civilization along lines laid down in accordance with the dictates of honor and the teachings of wisdom and experience, in order that our success may be great and enduring.

## A WOMAN FROM ALTRURIA.

BY GERTRUDE G. DE AGUIRRE.

ONE day in the past December the flags of the city of San Francisco floated at half-mast; but the story of death they mutely told was not that of any hero of the battlefield or renowned statesman, nor of any man who had clutched the reins of power and dazzled the multitude by the glitter of his star of success. Their message touched more deeply the hearts of the people than could any story of the end of human power and renown. It was this: "The best-beloved woman in San Francisco is dead."

This was Mrs. Sarah B. Cooper, and she was beloved because the gospel of her life was love, a gospel lived, not simply preached. How had she shown her love? By service, a service whose fruit was the awakened and enlightened minds of eighteen thousand children. She was the founder of the kindergarten on the Pacific coast, and for years had gone into the dark and dreadful places of the city and gathered the little ones into its fold, where they were given the upward impulse that lifted them out of their hard environment of ignorance, degradation, and crime. Eighteen thousand children saved from ignorance! Think of the tremendous force for good thus made unceasingly active! Every child educated in the kindergarten becomes a centre from which flow the self-mastery and consideration for others which form the corner-stone of kindergarten teaching. Such a force once set in motion goes down the centuries doing its great work toward leavening the whole. As one of the orators said over her dead body: "When San Francisco becomes a metropolis of one million or five millions, Mrs. Cooper's work will be greater than it is now, because of the radiation from that which has been done. And if there are continental divisions in that place whither she has gone there must be a continent filled with souls that have come to blessings from this great woman."

Great woman! Great in the truest sense of the word, for she forgot self in the service of others; and we have high authority for it that the greatest among us are they who most faithfully serve. Are not all lives wasted that are not lived for others? Nor does this kind of service mean sacrifice. On the contrary, it brings with it the true development and expansion of the individual, which must be the purpose of life. When we help others we uplift ourselves, all humankind being so mysteriously linked together that what we give out returns to us again as surely as the echo comes back from the rock.



We have all heard plenty of talk about "saving souls," and are familiar with the unfortunate method adopted by many well-meaning persons engaged in it, which is to go about telling miserable people how bad they are. There is but one way to save souls, and Mrs. Cooper found it long ago. It is to abolish ignorance, to educate and improve the individual, to develop the unit. This is the process of evolution, and is best worked out by awakening the child to a knowledge of the good that is in him, teaching him his own value and his relation to others, showing him the beauty of form, color, refinement, gentleness, kindness, and love,—in short, putting into his hand the weapons that will enable him to overcome the only foe to humankind — ignorance.

We honor the man who gives to a city a water fountain or a hospital; and we do well. We point with pride to electric lights, beautiful architecture, paved streets, splendid monuments, and lovely parks; and this, too, is well. But greater than these are the gardens where the child plant is trained to grow in beauty; where the seeds are sown that shall bear fruit in men and women of higher mould, nobler aims, and sweeter lives.

Is it remarkable that the woman who has thus saved thousands should be spoken of by the newspapers of her city as the greatest benefactor San Francisco ever had, and that when she died the flags were placed at half-mast in her honor, an honor that has been accorded to but two other women in this country? Is it strange that strong men were not ashamed that the unaccustomed tears rolled down their faces — "hard tears, that hurt" — as they stood in the presence of her flower-covered bier? Is it a matter of wonder that the most eminent men of the city reverently carried her clay garments to their final resting-place, in the presence of thousands of tear-stained faces of men, women, and children of every class, complexion, and clime, — an assemblage more sorrowful than was ever before gathered together there on any similar occasion? "Money could not buy and authority could not compel such demonstration of public and private grief," said one of the local chroniclers.

Mrs. Cooper's kindergarten work in San Francisco was the admiration of the world wherever it was known; but it was by no means all she accomplished. From the age of fourteen she was busy in ways that helped others to higher mental outlooks, always ministering to the spiritual as well as material needs of others, always helping to diffuse more light.

She was as distinguished in religious as in educational work. Though brought up in the Presbyterian faith, she was too big for it, and earned the distinction of being tried for heresy because she refused to believe in infant damnation and everlasting punishment. This

occurred in the Calvary Presbyterian Church of San Francisco. The trial was a famous one, and she defended herself so ably that she attracted wide attention and commanded the admiration of everybody who could not conceive of a hell which contained infants "a span long." The finding was against her, and she was put out of the fold. Made welcome in the First Congregational Church she remained there until her death. In a recent scandal she took sides against her pastor, believing him guilty of the charges against him. Her position was briefly defined in the words: "I stand for purity in the pulpit."

Nothing in her life worked more directly to her benefit than did the condemnation by the church which tried her for heresy. From that day her influence and sphere of usefulness increased. Hearts were opened to her that had known her not before; and friendly hands were everywhere stretched forth to her, for the people of the Pacific Coast are generous and full of the warmth of love to those unjustly persecuted.

Mrs. Cooper was a cousin to Col. Robert G. Ingersoll, and her maiden name was Ingersoll. Though her views on religion were so radically different from those of the great agnostic, he and she were warmly attached to each other. Some years ago he sent to her a volume of his lectures, thus inscribed: "To my own cousin Sarah, of whom I will say that if all Christians were like her this book never would have been written."

Mrs. Cooper was born at Cazenovia, N. Y., in 1836, and was graduated from Cazenovia Seminary, the first coeducational institution in the country. Among its graduates were some of the men now eminent in commerce and the professions. When but fourteen years old she taught school at Eagle Village, eight miles from Cazenovia, and there organized her first Bible class, which soon filled the schoolhouse with parents as well as children, and later grew into a powerful church.

After spending some time at the Troy Female Seminary she went to Augusta, Ga., as governess in the family of Governor Schley, who owned five hundred slaves, to whom she endeavored to give religious instruction. While there she married Mr. Halsey Fenimore Cooper, Surveyor and Inspector of the port of Chattanooga, and later editor of the *Chattanooga Advertiser*. Being abolitionists, Mr. and Mrs. Cooper went north at the beginning of the war, where they remained until Memphis was taken, when Mr. Cooper was appointed Assessor of Internal Revenue there, while his wife found a field of labor in the hospitals and as president of the Society for the Protection of Refugees. Of four children born to them in the South only one survived. Two boys died in infancy; and while the mother was nursing the sick family

of a refugee, the two little daughters fell ill of the same malady — smallpox — one dying, the other, Harriet, for whom Mrs. Cooper at last sacrificed her life, escaping death, but not the marks of the dread plague.

In 1869 Mr. and Mrs. Cooper located in California, where Mrs. Cooper began religious work at once. Eventually she had a class to which she gave religious instruction, which numbered several hundred members. She collected \$300,000 and founded the fifty kindergartens of the Golden Gate Kindergarten Association, very many of which are endowed, and out of which have grown over one hundred and twenty.

Her public work was of wide scope. She was vice-president of the Century Club, president and vice-president of the Woman's Press Association, treasurer of the World's Federation of Woman's Clubs, a director of the Associated Charities, and one of the five women elected to the Pan-Republican Congress. At the World's Fair she delivered thirty-six addresses, and on her return helped to organize the Woman's Congress, of which she was president at the time of her death, and had been for two years. A few months before she died she stated that she was an officer of nineteen societies for charitable purposes.

Yet all this labor for others did not prevent her from making one of the most charming homes on the Pacific Coast, where the beautiful virtue of hospitality was to be found by the weary and heavy-laden, as well as by those familiar with the sunshine of prosperity.

This rare and loving soul was called to walk through dark valleys. Twelve years ago her husband committed suicide, a victim of inherited mania, and Mrs. Cooper's own life at last was sacrificed to the same mania transmitted to their daughter.

They say of this noble woman that she knew how to love; that she loved deeply, steadfastly, permanently. As a tribute to love she gave her life. Her daughter was her constant companion, confidante, secretary, and friend. They loved each other with a devotion passing all ordinary maternal and filial affection. One was the shadow of the other, and they were never separated. The daughter had not the strong religious faith of Mrs. Cooper, but she worshipped her mother as a saint, and was ever her most ardent admirer.

The world knows the sad story of that fervent love. Harriet Cooper's mind gave way; she lost all interest in life, had attacks of profoundest melancholy, and longed to die and take her mother with her. Mrs. Cooper, believing her malady curable, endeavored to conceal it from the world and refused to be separated from her, although repeatedly urged to do so by her physician and the few intimate friends who knew the true state of affairs. After several unsuccessful attempts at taking her own and her mother's life, the daughter at last

succeeded. Two open gas-jets ended all, bringing sorrow to many hearts.

We need not go into remote history for stories of Spartan mothers to tell our children. Mrs. Cooper's story of Spartan heroism and service is no fable. There are tales which say that more than once in the dead of night the demented daughter turned on the gas and held her mother pinioned to the bed until she was nearly overcome, yet after much entreaty relented, and let her live, and herself consented to carry the oppressive burden of life a little longer. But only a few close friends knew of the danger the devoted mother nightly faced. Yet others who knew not of it saw on Mrs. Cooper's face the solemn sign that sometimes comes upon the faces of gracious souls whose earthly experiences are almost at an end, and remarked upon it.

In the kindergartens of San Francisco it has been the custom for the children to celebrate Mrs. Cooper's birthday. They made preparations to do so on the 11th of December, one day ahead of the usual date, because that fell on a Saturday. They twined her picture with laurel, and otherwise made ready to do her honor; but when the day came the laurel was changed to crape, for the great gardener of the child plant was no longer among the living.

All who knew Mrs. Cooper spoke of her great gentleness; they say she was a gentlewoman in every sense of the word; but with that gentleness went the firmness of the hills, and a loyalty to conviction not to be shaken by persuasion or abuse. The welfare of all human-kind concerned her. She was a true mother, for she numbered her children by thousands.

Was not Mrs. Cooper a wanderer from Altruria, one of a new race, dreamed of and looked for by those who believe we are journeying to "some far-off, divine event, to which the whole creation moves"? Some of the people of this new race are already with us, and they bear their sign manual not to be mistaken, for by their works are they known. There is a new heaven, and it can be entered here, where it will make a new earth. It is to

be to other souls  
The cup of strength in some great agony!  
Enkindle generous ardor, feed pure love,  
Beget the smiles that have no cruelty,  
Be the sweet presence of a good diffused,  
And in diffusion ever more intense!

And what of her who was that cup of strength to many fainting souls? Was her road smooth and flowery? Ah, no! It needed the heart of the hero, the faith of the martyr, to patiently walk therein. And of the good diffused by her, what is her share? What has she entered into on the other side of silence? What meaning has she

found for the curious problem we call life? Here we pause. The grave is voiceless. Dead lips have no message we can understand. Only stillness and the solemn beauty of peace are there. But if we turn from her pathetic dust to the memory of her serene face and gracious life, something bids us hope; something says that one who gave so largely must also receive according as she gave, yea, with measure heaped up and running over. It may be that death has not touched her at all; that she yet lives and loves in larger ways than we can understand.

Thousands of women lament their lack of interest in life. Their hearts are empty, their hands idle. The world has been a disappointment to them, and the great burden of self is hard to carry. The happiness they sought has eluded them, and they are out of harmony with everything. If they would but learn the lesson of service and self-forgetfulness taught by the life of this vanished altruist, they might attain to something better than the happiness of their dreams,—the blessedness of usefulness.



## SEPULTURE OF THE LIVING.

BY MARVIN DANA, M. A., LL. B., F. R. G. S.

**I**N the eighteenth century whole nations believed in vampirism. In Greece, Russia, Poland, and Hungary, unnumbered corpses were dragged from their graves, the heads cut off and burned, and the bodies left at cross-roads with stakes driven through the hearts. The superstition of the time taught that these were ghouls, who prolonged an unnatural and hideous existence within the tomb by subtly absorbing for their nourishment the vital energies of those yet living. Their ghastly careers could only be terminated by the disinterment and mutilation of their carcasses.

Our first impulse is to abhor such brutal treatment of the dead, while we marvel at the ignorance that sanctioned it as legal procedure. Yet the cruel folly was not wholly without excuse. The accused dead were put on trial, and the sentence was determined by circumstantial evidence. When the living sickened without apparent cause and wasted away, the secret source of their affliction was believed to be the vampire ghosts that came forth from the sepulchres to suck the blood of life for their own uncanny nourishment. Thereupon the suspected bodies were taken from their graves for examination. If they had suffered corruption they were declared innocent. But if they retained their flesh untainted by decomposition, with the blood fluid in their veins, they were adjudged guilty, and the final penalties of their crimes were visited upon them. The official records of the time prove to us that many were thus condemned by reason of their unchanged bodies, though they had been weeks entombed.

The inevitable conclusion to which we are forced is that in vampirism we find a ghastly witness to the extent of living sepulture. In the written account of the punishment of vampire corpses, there are statements to the effect that some of the bodies were convulsed at the last moment as if in torture, that the blood flowed, the eyes unclosed; that one shrieked as if in agony. We need not question the truth of such assertions. They are authoritatively made, and are to be accepted as credible. We cannot doubt that many, if not all, of the victims of vampirism were of those most afflicted of all human beings, those tormented by fate, who are numbered with the dead, and cast into the earth, while yet the breath of life is in them.

My own observation, pursued for a number of years, prepares me to assert that in this country one person each week is buried alive.

This is the mildest statement possible, since it refers only to the cases where bodies are exhumed, indubitable traces of life in the grave detected, and the facts are reported in the public press. When we consider that hardly one in a thousand of the bodies buried is ever again examined, when we consider that weekly one of the few examined is found to have been buried alive, we are appalled at the awful possibilities — aye, the awful realities — as to the extent of living sepulture.

Physicians are not partial to public utterances on the subject. The theme is too horrible for popularity. They hesitate to declare the facts, since the facts are rather injurious to themselves, as showing their inability, under certain conditions, to distinguish between life and death. Moreover, in the generality of cases, the remedial methods are doubtful, or difficult of execution. I have discussed the subject with many men prominent in the medical world, and, without exceptions, they refuse to be quoted on the subject, but in their confidences most of them have admitted the accuracy of the facts I have already set forth, and a few have agreed with me in the theories which I shall now detail.

My attention was first seriously called to the subject at the time of Washington Irving Bishop's death. I was well acquainted with the celebrated mind-reader, and was with him once when he fell into a cataleptic state and when the physicians who were summoned pronounced him dead. I have no wish to revive the question as to whether or not the haste of the physicians who performed the autopsy on Bishop was satisfied in operating on a corpse or on a living body. It is enough for my present purposes to say that the inquiry incident to his death attracted my particular attention to the phenomena of catalepsy, and, in consequence, to the subject of living sepulture.

It should be understood that when a person is in the cataleptic trance every test of death known to medical skill may warrant the belief that the person is dead. To mention but one example: a woman, now living, was twice pronounced dead, prepared for burial, and saved from being buried alive by accident. In this case the fallibility of tests is dreadfully apparent, because the first mistake was known to the physicians when they made their second examination. On this account they used every precaution and painstakingly proved her to be dead, — though she is not yet.

Self-induced catalepsy is a possibility. We need not consider the Oriental fakirs, who are claimed to possess the ability to suspend animation for almost any length of time. Regarding these as doubtful, despite the formal evidence in their favor, there are persons living to-day who can at will enter into a condition of trance, and in some the trance is so profound as to present all the appearances of death.

Catalepsy is not a disease. Physicians admit that they know little concerning it, but one eminent authority has asserted that, of itself, it is never fatal. Indeed, from an elaborate examination of a large number of cases, I may declare that disease is hardly ever fatal when the patient falls into a cataleptic state.

Now, from the two paragraphs above we may deduce two propositions of extreme importance to the subject of living sepulture :

First, catalepsy is a form of hypnotic trance ;

Second, catalepsy is a nature's method of combating disease.

Both of these propositions deserve our thoughtful attention. They are, I believe, supported by enough evidence to render them highly probable, and, therefore, to be accepted as true until scientific investigation shall have become exact. Let us, then, examine the proposition that catalepsy is a form of hypnotic trance.

In the hypnotic trance the subject's will slumbers. In the deep trances there is a suspension of activity in the vital functions. The vital organs rest. Voluntary movement is an impossibility. The Nancy and Paris schools alike unite in believing so much, and we may regard that much of hypnotism as determined.

But that much of hypnotism in which all the experts are agreed, exactly applies to cataleptic trance.

Catalepsy is caused by nervous exhaustion or disease ; it is caused by the hypnotic influence of another person ; it is caused by auto-suggestion in the case of certain individuals ; it is caused, in what is known as epidemic catalepsy, by auto-suggestion that takes the form of persistent fear lest the cataleptic condition should come, — the physicians say caused by imitation. In all of these the resemblance to the causes of hypnotic trance are so marked as to need no comment.

In the cataleptic trance ordinarily the subject is aware of that which goes on round about. One ignorant of hypnotism might believe that this fact differentiated the cataleptic from the hypnotic condition. In truth, the hypnotized person ordinarily is aware of that which goes on round about. Only in the most profound sleep is this not the case, apparently, but in a number of very careful investigations the apparent variation has been shown to be merely apparent, and not real.

Having said so much to establish the probable identity of catalepsy with hypnotic trance, I shall proceed to my second proposition that catalepsy is a nature's method of combating disease.

Many have a mistaken notion to the effect that the hypnotic trance is peculiarly exhausting to the subject. On the contrary, the slumber itself is absolute rest for the subject. Of course, while asleep he, like any somnambulist, may go through fatiguing exercises, but if left to repose, that repose is more restful than ordinary sleep, inasmuch as it is

more profound than ordinary sleep. Any number of experiments, in and out of the hospitals, prove conclusively that hypnotic trance is most refreshing to the subject, and restores from the consequences of fatigue or exhaustion more rapidly than any other known means.

Applying our knowledge of this fact to catalepsy, which we may now believe to be identical with the hypnotic trance, we are prepared to suspect that the patient who falls into catalepsy would thereby receive rest and succor against the exhaustion of disease. Such is the inevitable conclusion from our theory. Turning to our facts for confirmation, we find that, almost without exception, the patient who enters into the cataleptic state recovers from his disease. The only requirement is intelligent treatment when the cataleptic condition supervenes. It would seem that nature, in using the cataleptic trance, makes its final effort to save the patient from death. Through it, the torment or the atrophy of disease is succeeded by repose the most peaceful, the most profound, that the mortal body experiences. The time during which the slumber continues is determined by the patient's requirements. It may be short, it may be long.

It is obvious that, if catalepsy is a nature's method of combating disease, no effort should be made to arouse the patient from the healing slumber. Evidently, to do so would be to thwart nature's last effort. If the means employed, usually violent, are successful, the nervous shock must be tremendous, the result disastrous. On the other hand, if the means employed are not successful, the patient will probably be buried alive.

One other phase of the subject is most important. We know that the cataleptic subject is, ordinarily, conscious of that which occurs in his presence. The subject is in an hypnotic trance, and, therefore, is powerfully influenced by suggestion. The testimony of persons thought to be dead is to the effect that often they, too, believed that they were dead. They heard themselves declared to be dead, and accepted the declaration without question. In view of this, it is apparent that, when the physicians solemnly pronounce the patient dead, when the family wail over the supposed corpse, and the undertaker makes it ready for burial, the unhappy victim, in his trance incapable of any exercise of will, bound, like the puppet of a mesmerizer, to believe whatever is said to him, however unreasonable, — that unhappy victim may, though living and conscious, be assured of his own decease, may accept as eminently reasonable his descent into the grave, the falling of the clods on his coffin, may be undeceived only when nature's thwarted effort to combat disease ends, and he awakes to know the horror of his fate, to die, indeed, unheeded, bound to a brief but awful torment in the blackness of the tomb.

To suggest means for lessening the present evils is a difficult task. Cremation of the dead is of no particular benefit. To be burned alive in an instant, is better, doubtless, than to die in the ground, but what we desire is a death unassisted by our friends' mistaken haste.

In the first place, the apparent death of the person should not be commented on in the presence of that person, on account of the influence of such suggestion in delaying or preventing the return to a normal condition. The patient should be regarded as sleeping, and whatever is said or done in his presence should not contradict the idea that he will awake.

As to the other phase of the question, the avoiding of living sepulture: The tests for determining death as they are made by physicians to-day are *not* conclusive, so far as cataleptic subjects are concerned. To bury the living is, indeed, a grave crime against humanity's rights. It requires a grave preventive measure. My own researches and those of many others make me positive that there is but one sure proof of death — the corruption of the body. Other tests fail; that test never fails. It is the only certain means, and should always be awaited as the proof of death, before the body is treated as a corpse. Artificial means of preventing that corruption should be done away; autopsies should forego their scientific haste, for the sake of giving the patient every chance of life; in fine, until the visible and undeniable evidence of death appears, the patient has a supreme right to be treated as one who lives, despite all superficial signs to the contrary.

The remedy is repugnant to us, but it need not be. Assuredly, at the worst, it is incomparably less repugnant than living sepulture. If all thus buried could come forth from their graves to tell us of their horrid death within the sepulchre, as many have come already, could we hesitate for a moment before that ghastly phalanx of the tortured? Could we wilfully increase that grewsome and accusing company, for the sake of a sentiment? Let us retain our dear ones as living, until death shows us, by his own plain signet of corruption, that they are his.



## FALLING PRICES AND IMPOVERISHMENT.

BY HULBERT FULLER, M. D.

**T**HE beneficent tendency of falling prices towards a higher, grander, greater, and happier civilization" is the preposterous proposition of Mr. Dean Gordon in an article entitled "Falling Prices" in the March ARENA. That this axiom was evolved out of his superficial consciousness rather than from any profound inquiry into the logical basis of falling prices, must have been instantly apparent to the most careless of readers. Indeed, it is so on a par with the alleged beneficent effects of Bradley-Martin balls or of \$700,000 inaugurations, the subtle economies of which the average newspaper editor has not yet mastered, that it scarcely seems legitimate to refute such a proposition through the pages of the ARENA, whose contributors are supposed to have at least mastered the A B C of political economy before challenging the field. What have Mr. Jerry Simpson and other plain Democratic orators been teaching lately in Kansas, that anyone from that State should send in an article on "the beneficent tendency of falling prices"?

The author of that article obviously knows only two ways by which general prices are made to fall. Utterly ignoring that masterful work of Prof. Thorold Rogers on "Six Centuries of Work and Wages," and with a refreshing indifference to the influence of "Rent," — using the term in the general sense that it bears in political economy, — Mr. Dean Gordon goes on to tell us that prices may fall because of an appreciating standard of money, or because of increased facilities of manufacture and production; in short, the gold-standard and the overproduction theories. The former of these he promptly dismisses, as though the fallacious theory of an appreciating standard were settled once and for all by the last election perhaps, and confines himself simply to the argument of cheaper production. So that, merely referring to the present spectacle of Republican senators clamoring for bimetallism, and the recent declaration of Senator Chandler that prices have fallen thirty-five per cent in the past six years because of an appreciating gold standard, we likewise shall dismiss the influence of money and limit ourselves to the "beneficent tendencies of falling prices" and some of their more flagrant causes.

It is certainly startling to be seriously informed by a resident of Kansas, that the farmer can now produce two bushels of wheat or corn, because of improved facilities, on the same area required to produce

one bushel ten or fifteen years ago; or, which is the same thing, to produce two bushels now with the same cost for labor that was formerly required to produce one bushel. Yet this is the argument Mr. Gordon applies to the making of buggies and bicycles, and, we are to infer, represents his ideas in regard to farming as well. It is a pretty theory, and has the great advantage of being simple and easy to understand besides. But unfortunately it is not true, either of buggies, bicycles, or farming. Facilities have not undergone such a miraculous improvement within the past decade except in occasional instances. That in some cases, as in the manufacture of wire nails, for instance, production has been cheapened, is beyond all doubt; but such cases merely prove the exception and not the rule. Certainly no such revolution has recently occurred in the labor involved in bicycle making, nor yet in farming. Hence, when Mr. Gordon's John Smith makes bicycles for \$50 that formerly sold for \$100, or his mythical Sam Jones makes buggies at the same marvellous reduction, there are many ways by which such a result can be accomplished, but none of them are "beneficent."

For when no new invention has recently occurred to greatly facilitate the manufacture of an article, there are three commonly observed ways of cheapening prices:

- 1st. The manufacturer may reduce wages.
- 2nd. He may increase the number of hours of his employees.
- 3rd. He may make inferior goods.

But better than all these, he may form a trust or combine and so do all three together. Aye, he may do better still; for if he is a good practical business man like the controller of the sugar trust he may combine factories with an aggregate capital of seven millions, and water the stock up to fifty millions. And having done this, he may now proceed to pacify the general public by both cheapening the price of sugar and increasing wages ten per cent, simply because of the absolute bulge he has on the stock market. Under such conditions legitimate business becomes a gigantic gamble; wages may be anything or nothing, and sugar the same; for by virtue of his control of the stock, the manufacturer is so able to influence the market as to run the greatest "skin" game on earth, whether the wheels go round or not. Innocent victims rush in to buy stock, the gilded youth about town, the widows and orphans even, who, the railroads and manufacturers tell us when we demand a settlement, "must not be defrauded." Finally, however, our easy-going public gets angry and alarmed, until one morning we wake up and read in our newspapers that a great university has been endowed with millions of dollars by the president of some enormously wealthy and pernicious trust. Professors are engaged at splendid sala-

*Herbert S. Cantelano*

ries to teach the advantages of "sound" money and protection to the youth of our land. Building after building is erected; granite and oak fairly strain and groan with the weight of so much learning — and so much money. Until the wondering world is at length startled and disillusioned to learn that one of the professors has been caught teaching heresy; that he has dared to affirm that the earth "do" move around the sun; that truth is greater than a "trust"; and of course his head is instantly chopped off and his body thrown to the dogs.

Seeing that we have now arrived at college it may be as well to take up the subject of arithmetic right here, and to remind Master Dean Gordon that his sums and figures do him little credit. The unvarying trend of his argument being that general low prices benefit all alike, let us take, for instance, the case of a man working on a salary under low and high prices.

| LOW PRICES.               |         | HIGH PRICES.               |         |
|---------------------------|---------|----------------------------|---------|
| Salary, per week.....     | \$10.00 | Salary, per week.....      | \$20.00 |
| Bread, per week .....     | \$1.00  | Bread, per week.....       | \$2.00  |
| Meat, per week .....      | 1.00    | Meat, per week .....       | 2.00    |
| Vegetables, per week..... | 1.00    | Vegetables, per week ..... | 2.00    |
| Rent, per week.....       | 2.00    | Rent, per week.....        | 4.00    |
|                           | 5.00    |                            | 10.00   |
| Balanced saved,           | \$5.00  | Balance saved,             | \$10.00 |

Of course one might object to these figures by claiming that they are virtually the same; that ten dollars saved under the one system will buy no more than \$5 saved under the other. Very true; but we are to remember that this money is being saved, not spent, and that in an era of falling prices it is a sure thing that prices will continue to fall. So that, by no effort at all, the man who has saved a little money may confidently expect to arrive some day, paying no regard to interest, at a stage where every dollar that he has saved comes to be worth two. This, perhaps, is one of the beneficent effects that Mr. Gordon sees in falling prices. Many millionaires have hitherto discovered and spoken very highly of such benefits, but we had certainly hoped better of Kansas.

Thus at the outset we are confronted with the painful fact that the inevitable result of falling prices is to make the rich richer and the poor poorer. What do people of Kansas think of such beneficence? To him that hath shall be doubled; and of him that hath not, even the little that he hath shall be taken from him. And there are some who, sitting in high places and feeling that the world is good enough for them, assert that such is the will of Providence; and out of their hearts' selfishness declare that man is made for law and not law for man. Wherefore, having a cinch, they are wont to cry out:

"Rights! Rights! Let no man tamper with the rights of the individual," forgetting in their foolishness that every law that was ever made, every trifling ordinance that was ever passed, has always interfered with the rights of the individual in order to best conserve the rights of the masses; that progress is ever superior to law, and that when the latter becomes inelastic and petrified it must change or be overthrown. Else shall we come to consider a part greater than the whole, the greatest good to the fewest number, even unto the absurd reduction that a house divided against itself shall stand, while a house united shall fall!

Surely a man must be jesting or playing with the wrong end of a loaded gun when he dares to speak of the beneficent effects of falling prices. For the people are not fools, and there are some sayings that the most illiterate of men know at once and intuitively to be false. Such, for instance, as the assertion that luxury is a good thing because it puts money in circulation, which lie the metropolitan press seems to be united in trying to prove. Even that alleged Democratic paper, the *New York Sun*, in speaking of the late investigation of trusts, asserts that they are a good thing because it is shown that they cheapen prices, and that anyway a man has a right to run his business to suit himself. Wherein, after all these years, the *Sun* publicly advertises the fact that it does not yet know the difference between liberty and license. While other newspapers — to show what editors are doing for the enlightenment of the public — take the ground that high protection should be given so as to encourage a competition that may at length become suicidal in order that people may have cheap prices. Which reminds us of the argument advanced by ministers in Nevada that prize-fights are a great blessing because they put money in circulation and there is just a lurking possibility that one or both of the participants may be killed and the country benefited. Such are some of the vapid utterances and weaknesses that any listener may gather during this transition period of a democratic country.

Now as to the causes of agricultural decline — and surely this is such a period — Mr. Thorold Rogers names four: insufficient capital, excessive rent, insecure tenure, and inefficient labor. Of these we shall select as the one great underlying cause of falling prices, simply rent. We may omit the adjective "excessive," it being superfluous, as rent is always excessive or rapidly becoming so. By "rent" we mean, in an economic sense, all that portion of labor which accrues to the owners of land or other natural capabilities by virtue of their ownership.

We may now observe the effects of rent by a practical illustration. A young man in New York named Smith owns a large tract of land in

California, we will say. Mr. Smith has never seen this land, as he finds it more to his tastes to spend his money in New York and London. But he owns it, and has apparently a sympathetic public behind him. Anyway, he has a clear title from his grandfather, who was given the land by a general in the Mexican army to whom he had rendered a service, and who had himself obtained it from his wife, whose grandfather had driven a pack of thieving Indians off of it and camped down upon it himself. There was no question about the title; like all other deeds to land, if we trace it back we find it to be based upon the divine and unalterable principle that might makes right. That there was ever any such thing as truth, or right, or justice, or brotherly love, in these so-called ownerships of the earth is something that the modern world has only begun to question. Savage races, however, knew better; by them the land was held in common ownership. But man, civilized man, has sold the birthright of all posterity for a mess of potage!

But Mr. Smith of New York does not care to work his land; he therefore leases it to twenty, forty, one hundred, or as many settlers as he can accommodate. At first he exacts only a small part of the crops or a little money. But new settlers begin to pour in, adjoining territory becomes settled, improved machinery is introduced, productivity is enormously increased; and Mr. Smith, in company with others owning land, decides to raise the rents or prices. The soil is found to be fertile, so that a period of boom may even set in and Mr. Smith's share of the labor of others becomes vastly increased. Meanwhile the price of land (rent) may continue to rise, many make purchases at high prices, while others who are more fortunate sell out and get away. But while rents continue to rise, why, why, why is it that prices of produce do not rise a little in accordance with the value of land? Men are working if anything harder and at longer hours than before, but find themselves getting poorer and poorer. "Hitherto," says John Stuart Mill, "it is questionable if all the mechanical inventions yet made have lightened the day's toil of any human being." Those who are working on leased land find themselves reduced to slavery, long hours, and a bare sustenance on a wonderfully fertile soil; while those who purchased land at high prices are scarcely any better off. A crisis follows, Mr. Smith gets his share and a little more of the labor of others, goes to Europe, and talks about the beneficent effects of falling prices; while a great tidal wave of free-silver agitation sweeps over the country, as though an appreciating or contracted currency were the only cause of falling prices.

Now, this matter of rent as applied to land we find exactly paralleled in general business. The results of "watered stock" are the same in either case. Whether we observe them through railroads, trusts, lands, corporations, or individuals, the baneful effects upon the masses



of an increase of rent are alike apparent. We read that the wealth of a country is increased because the lands have doubled or trebled in price. Nonsense! we can no more create wealth in such a manner than we can lift ourselves into the air by our boot-straps; nor is it a whit more legitimate for landowners to force rents above the cost of labor actually applied in improvements, than for corporations like the sugar trust to water their stock from seven to fifty millions. The effect on the masses is equally pernicious and enslaving. Six years ago, under the McKinley tariff, steel rails that are now selling for \$17 were protected by a duty of \$12 per ton. Under this temptation, mill after mill watered its stock and effected combinations by which their owners made millions, and Mr. Andrew Carnegie purchased an estate in Scotland, where he wrote a book entitled "Triumphant Democracy." But what share of this enormous wealth accrued to the laborer only those can realize who have visited the mills, who remember the Homestead strike in the midst of all this "triumphant democracy," and who have to-day seen the fearful degradation of American labor in such districts, where men are working thirteen and fourteen hours a day at wages a third less than formerly, and which are barely sufficient to keep soul and body together. This frightful spectre is a glimpse of the Dark Ages. Even as we lean back in our comfortably cushioned Pullmans and journey across the continent it is as though each tie to which a rail is nailed were the helpless and bleeding form of some workman, fettered and sacrificed in the faces of an indifferent populace that is congratulating itself on the ability of this country to make rails so cheaply that they may be sold in England!

For heaven's sake let us hear no more of this nonsense of the beneficent effects of falling prices. If we can no longer afford to pay our workingmen a fair price for their labor it were better that we have no more rails and no more railroads. That men should be forced to toil thirteen and fourteen hours a day to get a bare living in this land of plenty and alleged over production is a monstrous iniquity and disgrace, that is protected and fostered and maintained in farm and factory by means of excessive rent or "watered stock."

When Mr. Dean Gordon, therefore, declares in his peroration that falling prices, like machinery and improvements, are merely an instance of those all-wise blessings that men have always fought because of their ignorance, we wonder how in the name of mystery he has managed to stand on his head so long! And when in the midst of this acrobatic performance he asserts that, in discountenancing falling prices, we might as well beg for the abolishment of fire protection because fires make work for men in rebuilding, we are curiously reminded of that wonderful tale of Charles Lamb in reference to roast pig. And because of the queer kink that some philosophers get in their minds when

attempting to distinguish between cause and effect, we beg to repeat the story.

According to Lamb, the savor of roast pig was first accidentally discovered among the Chinese by the burning down of Ho-ti's hut. But ever afterwards, so firmly was the association established between the burning of houses and the smell of roast pig, that the Chinese invariably set fire to a house whenever they wished to enjoy the savor of roast pig. And this is the state of things that Mr. Gordon and fallacious philosophers of beneficent falling prices would have us continue; for, lo! the house of many a Ho-ti is now burning, and the smell of roast flesh is abroad over the land.

LOS ANGELES, CAL.

## MALADMINISTRATION OF THE POST-OFFICE DEPARTMENT.

BY HON. WALTER CLARK, LL. D.

*Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of North Carolina.*

"G O, my son," said the great Chancellor Oxenstiern to his son, who was setting out on the grand tour of Europe,— "go, and see with what little wisdom the kingdoms of the world are governed." It is true to-day as then, and of republics no less than monarchies. We need not take time to refer to Carnegie and the iron-armor matter, as to which the government was shown to have paid \$520 per ton for steel armor which the same establishment was furnishing at the same time to the Russian government laid down in Russia at \$247 per ton. Many similar incidents, though smaller perhaps in the amount of the frauds, are to be found in other departments of the government. The object of this article, however, is not to expose frauds — that seems an endless and a bootless undertaking — but to point out some of the maladministration of that great department of the government which comes nearest the citizen and visits him more frequently than any other, the tax collector not excepted, and whose agents constantly go in and out among us, and whose tolls are a daily tax upon our pockets — the Post-Office Department.

The growth of this department is more phenomenal than that of the republic itself. Starting with seventy-five postmasters and an annual expenditure of \$37,000 under Washington, it had grown in 1886 so as to report 53,000 postmasters and \$44,000,000 of expenditure, and this with a constantly decreasing rate of charges, which by that date had come down to three cents for the carriage of one-half-ounce letters anywhere in the republic. The ten years since 1886 have seen postage reduced to two cents for one-ounce letters, and the Post-Office Department increased to near 75,000 postmasters and \$92,000,000 expenditure. What it will be even ten years hence if the proposed reduction of letter postage to one cent shall be made, and especially if telegraph or telephone offices shall be established by the government, with low rates, at every post office in the land, in town and country, no man can estimate.

In the main the subordinates of the post office do their work efficiently and honestly. There is no department or organization working a large force of men scattered widely apart, which can show a smaller percentage of defalcations or fewer derelictions in duty. There

is no complaint of the working staff, of the vast mass of men who do the drudgery and the labor of the great machine which is so material to the comfort and convenience of the public. If there had been shortcomings in them there would have been reform long since. Where the Department immediately touches the people it is usually regular and irreproachable. Yet there are vast defects, criminal shortcomings, which, stupendous in amount of losses, prevent betterments and ameliorations in the service rendered to the public. It is of these that this article wishes to treat.

The two gravest defects in the administration of the Post-Office Department are: the enormous overcharges paid to the railway service, amounting to fully \$15,000,000 annual loss to the government; and the prevention by corporate influences of the adoption of the telegraph and telephone as a post-office betterment and facility, although they have been adopted by the Post-Office Department in ninety-five per cent of all the post offices in the other civilized governments of the world.

And, firstly, the overcharges paid to the railways for mail service are such as to stagger belief. According to the Postmaster-General's reports, the government pays eight cents per pound for the transportation of mail matter, in addition to paying rental for the postal cars; while the express companies, who make large profits, are charged one cent per pound and less for the same service. And not only this, but while the average life of a postal car is twenty years, the government pays on an average two hundred per cent on the cost of a postal car as yearly rental in addition to paying eight times the charge per pound paid by express companies for hauling the car.

To get down to details: Postmaster-General Bissell's Report for 1894, p. 53, and Wilson's for 1895, p. 31, show that the average price for carrying the mail was eight cents per pound, and this for an average distance of 448 miles. The Texas and Southern Pacific R. R. carries caps, boots, cassimeres, and hardware for eight-tenths of a cent per pound, from New Orleans to San Francisco, 2,500 miles, or five times the average haul of the mail for which eight cents a pound is paid; that is, the government pays fifty times as much. On an investigation before the Inter-State Commerce Commission George R. Blanchard testified that the express companies carried milk to New York, a distance of 396 miles, at a charge of one-sixth of a cent per pound, returning the cans free, and that the distance could be increased to 1,000 miles and there would still be a profit at one-sixth of a cent; while the government pays for the transportation of the mails over the same lines eight cents for an average of 448 miles, besides paying for the annual rental of the cars largely more than two hundred per cent on their cost. Joseph H. Choate, who appeared for the railroads at the same investi-

gation, testified that at a rate of one-third of a cent per pound on forty-quart cans of milk there would be a profit of two to three hundred per cent.

The amount paid the railroads for the rental of the postal cars is \$3,600,000 annually, a sum more than enough to build outright nearly double the number of postal cars the government has in use. There are five hundred postal cars in use, costing \$3,500 to \$4,000 each. These the government could build for less than \$2,000,000, and, their average life being twenty years, it follows that at the present rental of \$3,600,000, the government is paying \$72,000,000 for property it could acquire for \$2,000,000. On the Pennsylvania R. R. the government pays annually \$7,327 per car for the rent of sixty-nine cars, which could each be bought outright for less than half the money. Thus over two hundred per cent is paid by the government as rental of postal cars which it should own. On the New York Central the government does worse; it actually pays \$8,500 each for annual rental of postal cars which can be bought for \$3,500 or less, nearly two hundred and fifty per cent interest. In this way \$3,600,000 a year is spent for rentals, whereas, if the government would build the five hundred cars at, say, \$3,500 each, — a full estimate, — the outlay would be \$1,750,000, or less than half the annual rental. Three per cent interest on this sum would be only \$52,500 per annum. The life of a car being twenty years, the annual depreciation would be \$87,500, and the repairs added would not make the entire cost exceed \$200,000, instead of the present \$3,600,000.

Besides the annual \$3,600,000 for rental of postal cars, the sum appropriated to railroads for hauling the mails is \$29,000,000, an amount which many deem fully \$15,000,000 in excess of a fair and moderate charge. Not only this, but it is in evidence that in the month set apart for the quadrennial weighing of the mails, many railroads, if not all, are in the habit of shipping vast numbers of sacks of congressional mail, books, and pamphlets to points on their lines, and then reshipping them again and again to swell the gross weight on which they are to receive pay for the next four years. So common is the habit that, when some were caught red-handed, the excuse of their officers was, "They all do it"; and the Department was not powerful enough to secure any punishment of the confessed offenders.

So well known are these abuses that when Senator Butler offered an amendment to the Postal Appropriations bill, that the government should not pay for the annual rental of any postal car more than ten per cent of its value (double pay if the life of a postal car is twenty years), or more for the transportation of mails than express companies pay per pound for like service, the Senators did not dare to go on record



upon the motion, and protected themselves by refusing an "aye-or-no" vote upon it.

In the discussion in the Senate, Feb., 1897, Senator Vilas, formerly Postmaster-General, concurred in the substance of the above statements and the necessity of great reductions. He stated that the rate for railway mail had been hurriedly tacked on to an appropriation bill in 1873, that the rate was exorbitant then, and that though railroad charges generally had been reduced forty per cent, their charges to the government, which were extravagant even in 1873, had not been reduced at all. Senator Gorman, who has never been suspected of being on unfriendly terms with great corporations, made the following frank speech:

I do not impute to the men who are in the Post-Office Department or those who preceded them a want of ability or courage to act; but the fact is, Mr. President, that the great power of those corporations, who control everything, who are powerful enough to dictate policies and make and unmake public men, is so omnipotent that no executive officer has been found in the last twelve years, except in the single instance and to the extent I have indicated, who has attempted to reduce the compensation for mail transportation.

Were the government to build and own its own postal cars and merely pay the railroad companies for hauling them, as the millionaires have their private palace cars hauled, over \$15,000,000 a year would be readily saved out of the present yearly expenditures of the post office. With this done, not only would there be no annual deficit, as now, and not only could letter postage be reduced to one cent, and postal cards to half a cent, but even the postage on books and newspapers and pamphlets could probably be somewhat reduced. There could be no further attempt by a "Loud Bill" to stop the circulation of free-silver and anti-monopoly literature under the pretext of a necessity to increase postal rates to prevent a deficit. The way to prevent a deficit is for the government to own its own postal cars and pay the railroads the same rates only for hauling them that others pay.

The second great defect in the postal service is that the swift mail service, the electric mail, is illegally turned over to private companies, who operate it at "the highest figure the traffic will bear," and furnish offices only at the points which will pay handsomely, thus giving the smallest possible benefit to the great mass of the people, and the largest possible profit to the multimillionaires who have confiscated the lightning to their sole profit. This is done illegally, as the Constitution places the post office in the exclusive control of Congress, and no one but the government has a right to operate this best part of the mail service. What would be our condition if the steam mail service had been turned over to private companies as the electric mail has been?

In practically every country except the United States and Canada the telegraph and telephone are a part of the mail service. The aver-

age rate for telegrams in Europe is ten cents for twenty words, and the average cost of telegrams is thirteen cents each. The average charge for telegrams in this country is thirty-one cents each. Then, too, in other countries the Post-Office Department has a telegraph or telephone at nearly every post office in the country as well as in the towns. It should be so here. It would go far to destroy the isolation of farm life, and would enable those living in the country to procure the services of physicians in less than half the time, and with less expense than sending a messenger. The market prices in towns would be known each day, and whether it would be well to carry in produce or not. Then many a useless trip to the railroad station for freight that has not come, or to the county town as witness in a cause that has been postponed, could be avoided. Then, too, by increasing the number of post offices, most of the advantages of country free delivery could be had, as messages requiring despatch could be telephoned.

The present Western Union Telegraph Co. has a nominal capital stock of \$120,000,000, on which regular dividends of six and eight per cent are paid, besides \$100,000 salary to the president and large salaries to other high officials. Yet the stockholders of that company have paid into its treasury only \$440,000. The other \$119,560,000 (or so much of it as is not water) has been created by exorbitant rates. This has been raked out of the public by high rates, in addition to the annual dividends on its watered capital, high salaries to high officials, lobbying expenses, and franks to public officials. The plant of the Western Union is estimated to be really worth \$20,000,000, so that an eight-per-cent dividend on its nominal capital of six times that amount is in truth forty-eight per cent. A few years ago a firm in New York offered the government to put up a thoroughly equipped line for \$35,000,000, not only to the 21,000 select points the Western Union now operates, but to each of the 75,000 post offices throughout the Union.

As every postmaster could use the telephone, probably that instrument could be put in at each of the 75,000 post offices using the telegraph, and also at 15,000 of the post offices to forward long-distance messages. With the vastly increased number of messages which would follow low rates and the extension of the service to every post office, experts express the opinion that a uniform five-cent rate for ten body words, between any two points in the Union, would be profitable to the government. In England, when the telegraph passed from private hands to the government, with a reduction of rates to twelve cents for twenty words, the messages promptly increased thirtyfold in number. Other countries had similar experience, the increase in the number of social messages being simply marvellous.

Another great objection to the present system is that while the

higher officials, like the higher railroad officials, are paid enormous sums which they do not and cannot earn, the vast mass of operatives are screwed down to the lowest possible figure and are in constant danger of losing their places. This would be otherwise were the telegraph and telephone operated under the Post-Office Department. The high officials would not, as now, all speedily become millionaires, and the men who do the work would receive reasonable salaries, and, like other post-office officials, would have some stability of tenure. The object of government in operating the telegraph and telephone service will not be to extort high rates to pay great salaries and dividends on a sixfold watered stock, but to operate this department of the postal service as it does the others, upon fair salaries to men and officers, and at as near cost as possible; no profits are desired. Then, too, instead of restricting itself to 21,000 selected points, the government would utilize the 75,000 post offices, and steadily increase their number. The increased business would greatly increase the pay of country postmasters, now inadequate, while the telephones and telegraph instruments, being placed in the post offices, the rents now paid for offices by the private companies would be a clear saving to the government.

It has been objected by the Western-Union lobbyists that the telegraph and telephone systems could then be controlled for partisan purposes. But we know that the post-office officials in the last campaign were not so controlled, while capitalistic pressure was brought to bear as far as possible upon nearly every telegraph operator who could be reached. There is every reason to believe that, under government control, messages would be more sacred than under the present system. As to telephones for private use, the government in Switzerland rents them at \$6 per annum. Even in Paraguay the government charges only \$12 per annum.

But it may be asked, Why has not the government been pressed to take this step, when all other governments have adopted electricity as a motive power in their post-office economy?

The telegraph in this country originally (1844-47) belonged to the post office, and when from mistaken notions of economy Congress permitted it to go into private hands, Henry Clay, the great Whig leader, and Cave Johnson, the Democratic Postmaster-General, earnestly protested and prophetically foretold the evils that have followed. Repeated attempts to restore these betterments to the post office have been made, supported by leading men of all parties, including five Postmasters-General. No less than eighteen congressional committees have from time to time reported upon bills restoring the telegraph to the post office; of these, sixteen have reported in favor of it, one report was non-committal, and one slightly adverse. The telegraph monopoly,

which finds its revenue better than a gold mine, has always fought for delay, and by its powerful lobby at Washington, its lavish issue of franks to Congressmen and other public officials, and its influence over the daily press, to which it furnishes telegraphic news, has always, so far, prevented a roll-call on the measure. It will continue to do so as long as possible. There can be no doubt that, if the measure could come to a vote, public opinion would force a result in the interest of the people.

In 1868, indeed, the Western Union was virtually whipped, and it promised to surrender if given two years to wind up; and the act was passed, which is still on the statute book, that all telegraph lines built after that date should be built with the notice that the government could at will take them over upon an appraisal of the value of the plant, without franchise being allowed for. But by the next Congress the Western Union was strong enough to prevent a vote, and has been so in every Congress since.

Boards of Trade in Boston, New York, Chicago, and other leading cities have petitioned Congress for a postal telegraph. As far back as 1870 the legislatures of Massachusetts, Alabama, and Nebraska did the same, and the legislatures of Nevada and Nebraska in 1873; and the legislatures of other States have followed their example.

The Report of Postmaster-General Wanamaker several years since contained a list of official bodies and labor and other organizations which had asked Congress for this great boon and betterment, and the bare list covered several pages. But the people have so far asked in vain. The Western Union systematically distributes its franks to every member of Congress who will accept them, and to every influential official at Washington and elsewhere whom it is deemed advantageous to influence. Through its dispensation of news it largely controls the daily press. It has, too, the active coöperation, sympathy, and support of the money power, especially of the great trusts, a system of which it was the pioneer; and it constantly maintains a powerful lobby.

Seeing the great difficulty in getting a postal-telegraph and telephone bill through Congress, owing to the dilatory and obstructive tactics of the Western-Union lobby, and while waiting the passage by Congress of a post-office telegraph and telephone act, which shall give us a uniform rate of five cents between any two points in the Union, each State whose legislature represents the people and not the corporations should pass an act providing for a maximum rate for telegrams of ten cents for ten body words for a message between any points in its own borders, and a maximum annual rental for telephones of \$12 at a residence, and \$18 at an office or store.

This will (1) give the people immediate relief, as the larger part

of telegraphing is done within State limits, and it will incidentally cause a reduction in inter-State rates.

(2). By accustoming the people to lower rates and to the legislative control of the telegraph and telephones, it will hasten public ownership.

(3). It will reduce the exorbitant profits and salaries of these overgrown corporations and disable them from spending so much money in lobbying and franks to prevent the post-office ownership of the telegraph and telephones.

The power of State legislatures to regulate the charges of telegraphs and telephones within their own limits is well settled by decisions of the United States Supreme Court.

In Kansas, the Morrill bill is pending to fix telegraph rates at ten cents for ten body words between all points in the State. In North Carolina bills were introduced to fix the telegraph rate at fifteen cents for ten words between any two points in the State, and telephone rentals at \$12 at a residence, and \$18 at an office or store, and they were defeated only by the narrow margin of one vote in each House, so closely did the corporation lobbyists calculate their strength. Similar bills may be pending, or may have been passed, in other States. They should be introduced everywhere, in every State and Territory, whether they can now be passed or not. Their introduction and the discussion of them will attract public attention to the fact that the people have the power to remove the high rates which now debar them from the use of these great facilities, which are now practically restricted to the rich and the deadheads. The effect will be educational, and the next time the legislatures meet, the bills will be passed, for the people are really the masters when aroused to express their will.

If the post office were operated in the public interest postal savings banks and a parcels post would also long since have become efficient parts of our post-office system. They are so operated in nearly every other civilized country, to the profit of the government and the greatest benefit of the masses. There being no risk of broken savings banks, earnings are more generally deposited; and the parcels post largely saves the public from the high rates of our express system.

We miscall this a government "of the people, by the people, for the people." A consideration of the above defects in our post-office management shows beyond cavil or question that in consideration for the benefit of the public we are far behind most other countries, even those making small pretensions to popular government. Taking our Post-Office Department as a sample, it could be said that ours is a "government of the corporations, by means of the lobby, for the benefit of the millionaires."



As was said by the inspired prophet of old : " The ox knoweth its owner, and the ass its master's crib, but Israel doth not know, this people do not consider." With the wealth of a continent entirely the creation of their own hands, they permit a few thousand men to confiscate it for their personal profit; with the wonderful discoveries of steam and electricity given by Providence for the betterment of the condition of the masses, they see with apathy railroads and telegraphs and telephones used to increase the wealth of millionaires and to bind themselves and their posterity in the chains of hereditary serfdom; and standing upon the shoulders of more than sixty centuries, and with the advantage of the lessons these should teach, they see without effort, almost without a struggle, the " power of the purse " pass from them, and know not that without it freedom is an empty form, and the taskmasters of Goshen their certain and early doom.

## THE SANITATION OF DRINKING WATER.

BY FRANK J. THORNBURY, M. D.

*Lecturer on Bacteriology, University of Buffalo, N. Y.*

THE number of bacteria present in rain water or in snow which has recently fallen, varies greatly at different times. Naturally the number is greater when the surface of the earth is dry and the atmosphere loaded with dust, and less when the surface is moist and the air purified by recent rains. As many as 384 bacteria have been found in one cubic centimeter, or fifteen drops, of fallen snow. In rain water collected in Paris, nineteen bacteria per cubic centimeter were found. The organisms are present in the dust of the air, which is taken up by the rain in falling.

Hail has also been found to contain bacteria in considerable numbers. The maximum number recorded in one instance is 21,000 in one cubic centimeter. This is an exceptional case, however, and is supposed to have been due to surface water having been carried into the air and frozen. Tontin found an average of 729 bacteria per cubic centimeter in melted hail which fell in the city of St. Petersburg.

As a rule lake water contains fewer bacteria than river water. Wolffhügel, in researches extending from July, 1884, to July, 1885, obtained from the water of the Tegeler Lake an average of 396 bacteria per cubic centimeter. From the water of Lake Zurich, during the months of October, December, and January, 1884, Cramer obtained an average of 168 per cubic centimeter. In June of the same year the average was 71 per cubic centimeter. In Lake Geneva, Fol and Dunant obtained from water collected some distance from the shore an average of 38 bacteria per cubic centimeter.

The ice used in Berlin, collected from the surface of lakes and rivers in the vicinity of the city, contains from a few hundred to 25,000 bacteria to the cubic centimeter (Fränkel). In the experiments of Heyroth samples of ice from the same source gave less than 100 per cubic centimeter in three, from 100 to 500 in eight, and from 500 to 1,000 in six.

The simple fact that ice appears clear is no proof that it is pure. You cannot see microbes with the naked eye. The clearest ice may be the most dangerous, and the popular delusion that ice is purified in being frozen is a very sad one. Water will retain its impurities in spite of being frozen for months and even years. The number of microbes in ice is not reduced even by freezing. Only lately it was

shown that ice taken from the River Spree in Germany contained 1,700 microbes to the cubic centimeter, while ice from the Lake of Geneva contained 210 bacteria. Prof. Christomanar, of Athens, has shown that freezing may protect from certain impurities, but these are not the injurious ones.

Usually ice companies cut their ice as near as possible to the large cities so as to reduce the expense of transportation. This is the case with New York, where ice is taken from the Hudson just outside of the city. Only a small quantity of the ice supplied to New York is shipped from the lakes of Maine and the Adirondacks, but much of it comes from near-by lakes which receive the sewage discharges of numerous villages. There is only one absolute protection against the disease germs that ice carries. This is *distillation* and *sterilization* of the water before it is frozen. But the quantity of this kind of ice on the market is very minute.

The question of the contamination of water previously pure, by adding to it ice from an uncertain source, is a very important one. This consideration applies particularly to invalids and sick people, to whom ice is such a delicacy and, at times, even a necessity, and with whom it is important that only the purest of food and drink should be used. It is, however, of no trivial importance to the *general public*. If the people could but see the lifelike creatures contained in ice as shown by some drawings executed by Dr. Walter T. Scheelee, analytical chemist of New York, they would pause in terror before they would use the stuff; but, as previously stated, these dangerous microbes are invisible to the unaided eye. Only the vinegar eels and large parasites can be so discerned. A multiplicity of vegetable and animal forms of life have been developed from ice that is clear as crystal.


The examination of ice water as to its fitness for use must be chemical as well as microscopical. The chemical analysis includes examinations for solids, ashes, oxidation, nitrous acid, nitric, sulphuric, and phosphorous acids, chlorine, and ammonia. The *Euglea viridis*, which swarms in water containing decomposed matter, and is a hotbed for growing cholera or diphtheria bacilli, is always present where these are found. *Chilomas* in living form, which is plentiful where decomposing matter is in the water, and assists the growth of cholera and diphtheria bacilli, was found by Scheelee in his examination of the ice water used in New York restaurants and hotels. He also found the *Monas vivipera* in living form. The latter takes its nourishment from decomposing organic matter only, and it is this germ that gives to stagnant water its green appearance. A micrococcus of a suggestive type was likewise very noticeable. The above are but a few of the

organisms isolated from melted ice. They all indicate impurities, and some of them are dangerous.

Bacteria can maintain their vitality in water for weeks, months, and even years. Water serves as a culture medium for many, in which they thrive. Tests by Cramer showed that Zurich hydrant water increased 17,000 times in its bacterial contents after standing for twenty-four hours. Leon ascertained that the water supply of Munich, which contained only five bacteria to each cubic centimeter, contained 500 bacteria per cubic centimeter after standing for twenty-four hours. With reference to the rapidity of the multiplication of bacteria in general, Cohn states that a germ divides into two in the space of an hour, these into four at the end of the second hour, and these into eight at the end of three hours; in twenty-four hours the number will amount to more than 16,500,000. At the end of two days, this bacterium will have multiplied to the incredible number of 281,500,000,000. Certain bacteria grow best in water, and here come to luxuriant development. Only a small amount of organic pabulum is required for the indefinite life of many of the water bacteria, and the cholera spirillum will live for a year or more in water, although usually it dies in less time than this.

Naturally it is not so much the number as the *character* of the bacteria present in water that makes the latter dangerous; a few cholera, typhoid, or virulent coli germs are more hazardous than great numbers of the so-called saprophytic bacteria. Even the latter, however, when present in large quantities, arouse suspicion as indicating contamination with organic material which affords a pabulum upon which these low organisms better thrive.

As a rule, it may be stated that water containing more than 500 bacteria per cubic centimeter is likely to be contaminated; this would be 160,000 to a tumblerful of ten ounces. Water containing 1,000 or more bacteria per cubic centimeter is in all probability contaminated by sewage or surface drainage, and should be rejected.

*The typhoid bacillus.* To give a concise description of the chief disease-producing organisms found in water, the bacillus of typhoid fever was discovered in 1880 within the human body, and four years later it was grown or cultivated externally. It is a rod-shaped organism with rounded ends, and is three times as long as broad. Its length is from one to three micromillimeters.<sup>1</sup> Projecting from its sides are numerous hair-like processes known as flagella, by means of which it is able to propel itself very rapidly through water. These are  of an inch in diameter. It glides along in an artistic way, making serpentine windings and curves. A drop of water under the microscope in which typhoid bacilli are suspended presents a most impressive picture.

<sup>1</sup> A micromillimeter is 1/2500 of an inch.

We have here what might be likened to a swarm of dancing gnats. Millions of these minute microbes in a very small part, even, of this hanging drop, constituting a "field" under the microscope, will be seen darting to and fro in every direction, knocking into and gliding by one another, but for the most part tending to rush to the edge of the drop to get air. The typhoid bacilli dried upon small and thin pieces of glass, stain very readily with the aniline dyes, and then they may be seen even more distinctly, although under any circumstances they must be magnified by powerful lenses (preferably a  $\frac{1}{12}$  oil immersion), so extremely minute are they. This germ grows very readily outside the body upon the ordinary artificial culture media used by bacteriologists. Its growth upon the surface of cooked potato is quite characteristic, and was thought early in its history to be absolutely distinctive. As shown by recent investigations, however, a number of other organisms occurring in water very closely resemble the typhoid bacillus in its growth upon potato. These are quite common, and are thought to be modified forms of the true typhoid-fever bacillus. It grows upon gelatin, thrives well in milk, and multiplies rapidly in beef tea, causing a cloudiness. Upon agar-agar, a material imported from Japan, it also develops freely, giving rise within twenty-four hours to a growth perceptible to the unaided eye. In a case of typhoid fever, these bacilli will be found in myriads in the intestines, where they produce the ulceration that characterizes this disease. They are also found in large numbers in the surrounding glands of the abdominal cavity, and in the spleen and other organs, and to some extent also in the blood.

The fact of the typhoid-fever bacillus not being found more often in water supplies is no decisive argument against its presence. Messrs. Andrewes and Laws, after extensive researches in London, England, estimate that even though the typhoid bacillus be intimately mixed with the city's sewage from typhoid-fever cases direct, there will be only one typhoid-fever bacillus in one-tenth of a cubic centimeter of the sewage at the outfall. So numerous were the failures of these observers in their attempts to find the typhoid bacillus in London sewage that they finally became oppressed by a sense of mathematical improbability. The average amount of sewage produced in London is 200,000,000 gallons per day; calculating that two hundred cases of typhoid fever prevailed during the time when the above observations were made, it is estimated that the amount of typhoid sewage was one two hundred and fifty thousandth of the whole. The investigators found it possible to work on only  $\frac{1}{80000}$  of a cubic centimeter of sewage at a time, and this only when ninety per cent of the organisms were inhibited by the addition of 0.05 carbolic acid, and incubated at 37° centigrade. Under these circumstances they were able to isolate pure



cultures of the typhoid bacillus directly from sewage, a thing which had never previously been done.

*The colon bacillus.* The colon bacillus, being present at all times in the human intestines in large numbers, and consequently in the excreta, is ever liable to be present in water; and this organism, with the virulence which it is capable of taking on, may give rise to serious intestinal disturbances, and in fact to a train of symptoms closely simulating typhoid fever. This colon bacillus much resembles the typhoid-fever germ, and most experts now regard them as intimately related. Frequently in epidemics resembling typhoid fever, examinations of the water supply will show the presence of an organism that is pathogenic for animals, as revealed by inoculation, but which is not the true typhoid-fever bacillus. The animals fall sick and die, and pure cultures of the colon bacillus may be recovered from their viscera.

Beef-tea cultures, to which the suspicious water has been added, are first incubated at 40° centigrade for twenty-four hours. A few drops of a diluted solution of carbolic acid are also added to the culture. This, with the heat, retards the development of the common water bacteria, which grow best at 22° centigrade, but favors the growth of the disease-producing germs.

*The cholera spirillum.* The term "bacillus," as often applied to this organism, is a misnomer. The cholera germ is not rod- but spiral-shaped, and is properly known as the cholera spirillum. It was first discovered by Koch in India in 1894, being found in a tank from which the natives drank water. Cholera is almost always endemic in India. In 1894 it had extended to other parts of Asia, and threatened to invade continental Europe. The German government, fearing its approach and consequent disaster, equipped a scientific commission, at the head of which was placed the illustrious Robert Koch, and sent them to India to investigate the cause of that dreadful disease. The cholera spirillum is a very motile organism, and has a terminal flagellum. Its somewhat oval body, with the flagellum, gives it a comma appearance. Hence it is often called "the comma bacillus." It develops freely at the ordinary atmospheric temperature in all nutrient substances that have a slightly alkaline or neutral reaction. In case of cholera it is found in incalculable myriads in the intestinal canal, and therefore occurs in the dejections. It multiplies rapidly upon soiled linen, from which source pure cultures may be obtained. As found in the slimy flakes in the intestinal canal of cholera patients, Koch likens its mode of grouping to that of a school of fish when swimming up stream; that is, the individuals all point in nearly the same direction, and lie in irregular parallel linear groups that are formed by one comma being located behind the other without being attached. The colonies of the

cholera spirillum upon gelatin, in which it grows freely, have a frosted appearance, with irregular-shaped points. These, with the indol reaction, the wrinkled film upon the surface of bouillon cultures, and its morphological characters, serve to distinguish it from other water bacteria.

Koch found the cholera spirillum in a water tank at Calcutta during a period of fourteen days, and his experiments showed that it preserved its vitality in well water for thirty days and in Berlin sewer water for from six to seven days. In the experiments of Nicati and Rietsch, the cholera spirillum preserved its vitality in diluted water for twenty days, in sewer water (of Marseilles) thirty-eight days, in water of the harbor for eighty-one days. The numerous experiments recorded by the observers named, and by Bolton, Hueppe, Hochstetter, Maschek, Kraus, and others, show that, while the cholera spirillum may sometimes quickly die in distilled water, in other instances it preserves its vitality for several weeks (Maschek), and that it lives still longer in water of bad quality, such as is found in sewers, harbors, etc. Bolton found that for its multiplication water should contain at least forty parts in one thousand of organic material, while the typhoid bacillus grew when the proportion was considerably less than this; namely, 6.7 parts in 100,000.

*Organisms resembling the cholera spirillum.* A number of bacteria found in water, although not identical with it, closely resemble the germ of Asiatic cholera discovered by Koch, and now conceded to be the specific cause of cholera, occurring in man. The organisms here referred to are not uncommon in water, and several of them have been studied quite accurately, and photographed. They are of particular interest in this connection. The first of the organisms of this group to which we will refer is the *Spirillum Dunbar*. This organism was described in 1893 by Dunbar and Oergel, who secured it from the water of the Elbe. It much resembles the cholera spirillum, but it never exhibits sigmoid forms. It liquefies gelatin even more quickly than the cholera spirillum. The colonies upon gelatin plates and the puncture-cultures in gelatin are identical with those of the cholera spirillum.

Another organism of this group is the *Spirillum Danubicus*. It was isolated by Heiler in 1892. In appearance it is rather delicate and decidedly curved. It is often united in sigmoid and semicircular forms, and exhibits long spirals in old cultures. It is actively motile, and the growth upon gelatin is rapid. Several light-gray-colored colonies, resembling those of the cholera spirillum, but exhibiting a dentate margin, have been observed. The growth of gelatin punctures also much resembles that of the cholera spirillum.

The spirillum Bonhoffi was found in water by a Berlin bacteriologist of the name of Bonhoff. It has a decided resemblance to the cholera spirillum, but is rather stouter and less curved. Curved forms, that is, semicircles, signoids, and spirals, do occur in old cultures.

The Spirillum Weibeli was found in 1892, by Weibel, in spring water which had a long time before been infected by cholera. It is short, rather thick, and bent, often forming S-shaped figures.

The Spirillum aquatilis was found by Günther in 1892 in the water of the river Spree. It is similar to the cholera spirillum in shape, has a long terminal flagellum, and is motile. The colonies which form upon gelatin are circular, have smooth borders, and look very much as if bored out with a tool. They have a brown color, and are mildly granular. In gelatin puncture-culture, growth occurs almost exclusively at the surface.

*The malaria germ.* Concerning the probable presence of the plasmodium, the parasite which is the cause of malaria, in drinking water that is charged with vegetable matter from low, marshy districts, we have important evidence from the lower Mississippi Valley. So extensively did this disease prevail in the large tract between the Mississippi and Yazoo rivers, that population of the region seemed for a time to be impossible; the very atmosphere seemed infected. The use of artesian wells, however, has brought a wonderful change. Formerly the residents of the delta drank the water from small surface streams, shallow wells, and sluggish bayous. As a result of the use of water free from surface contamination, the region has been robbed of many of its terrors and has proved to be exceedingly healthy.

For hundreds of years the Roman Campagna was the home of the deadly "Roman fever." The water supply of the "Eternal City" was very poor, and the fever made great ravages. But since improvement in the above conditions the death rate of Rome has been lower than that of Naples, Florence, Turin, or Milan, and there occurs scarcely a death in Rome from malaria contracted within the city. While we in the North do not have the extensive swamps of the Mississippi region, still there is in the above experiences an important lesson for us and for all who live where impure water, laden with vegetable refuse, is drunk. Whether it be on the banks of the Ohio, the Schuylkill, the Hudson, or any other river, there malaria may occur.

*The septicæmia bacillus.* One of the organisms producing the most disastrous of the septicæmias (blood poisoning) of animals, namely, the bacillus of rabbit septicæmia, was first discovered by Koch and Gaffgy in a tributary of the Spree river flowing through Berlin. Mori has isolated from canal water three disease-producing organisms. According to Lortet and Despeignes, the Rhone river water of Lyons

scarcely contains anything except bacteria that are pathogenic. The filtered residue and precipitate injected into guinea-pigs rapidly lead to their destruction. Disease-producing organisms have been frequently detected in the examination of river and well water. With a knowledge of the very dangerous character of these germs, such water would be drunk with much hesitation. The hydrant water of Freiburg, Germany, frequently contains the bacillus of green pus.

The number of bacteria in drinking waters fluctuates greatly. Upwards of fifty per cubic centimeter will be found in ordinary hydrant water; in good pump water, 100 to 500; in filtered river water, according to Günther, 50 to 200 are present; in unfiltered river water, 6,000 to 20,000. According to the pollution of the water the number may reach 50,000. In densely populated and manufacturing districts the rivers and brooks are to the highest degree contaminated, and the color, consistency, and odor of many waters indicate that they deserve the name polluted, rather than water unqualified. The number of germs in a single drop of a heavily decomposed fluid, such as may gain access to rivers in the form of sewage, often amounts to millions.

In the Spree river at Berlin, according to investigation made in the Hygienic Institute of that city, there are from 3,200 to 150,000 bacteria per cubic centimeter, the average number being 37,525. At the Stralau waterworks, the number was four hundred. The water of the Oder, collected within the limits of the city of Stettin, was found by Link to contain from 5,240 to 15,000 bacteria per cubic centimeter; that of the Limmat, at Zurich, 346 in one specimen, and 508 in another (Cramer). Adametz (1888) has described eighty-seven species of bacteria obtained by him from water in the vicinity of Vienna; Maschek found fifty-five different species in the drinking water used at Leitmeritz; and Tils (1890) has described fifty-nine species obtained by himself from the city water used at Freiburg.

As showing the influence of locality on the number of bacteria present in different parts of a river, the following observations are of value. The water of the Seine at Choisy, before reaching Paris, was found to contain 300 bacteria; at Bercy, 1,200; at St. Denis, after receiving sewer water from the city, 200,000 germs per cubic centimeter (Miquel).

Let us now examine into some of the conditions surrounding domestic wells and springs in the larger towns and villages, conditions which also prevail sometimes even about rural homes. We shall then be better able to understand how a well, like a Nevada silver mine, may have "millions in it," and how "the old oaken bucket" may bring from the depths elements of disease with the same draught that refreshes the thirsty throat. For convenience a well is situated in the back yard, per-

haps a rod away from the house, or it may even be nearer. Certain other things, also for convenience sake, are grouped close about the backdoor. Here is a cesspool but a short distance, perhaps only a few feet from the well; there is a vault, a filthy institution which is an open disgrace to civilization. A little further away is the garbage heap. In other adjacent localities are the chicken coop, the pig-pen, and the stable, with their accumulations of decomposing filth. It may be that in a corner a dead animal has been buried to save the trouble of conveying it to a distance. A damp and reeking spot near the backdoor marks the place where the slops have been deposited since the drain to the cesspool became stopped up with the accumulated refuse of half-a-dozen years.

Every one of the sources of contamination mentioned is a contributor to the well. A part of the putrid material floats upon the ground and is disposed of by evaporation, but the greater portion of it soaks into the ground. It is a common error to suppose that whatever has disappeared into the ground is destroyed. The filth which has disappeared from the surface may be out of sight, but it is not out of existence. If the soil is filled with refuse of various kinds, the well will be contaminated. Every rain washes the filth a little deeper down until it reaches the well proper or one of the underground veins of water by which it is fed. It may not be generally known that a well will draw water a distance of 60 feet.

As showing the danger of soil pollution and the length of time during which the same will last, the following, from Dr. Lanciani's work on "Ancient Rome," will be of interest:

While a system of garbage collection existed under Roman rule, the disposal of refuse was as crude as it is in many modern towns and cities. That this disposal method was regarded as a nuisance at a very early period is made evident by the fact that sanitary laws were passed 2000 years ago that were intended to at least mitigate the trouble.

Some of these laws, graven on stone, were unearthed by Dr. Lanciani in his excavations, and the text of one of them reads:

C. Centius, son of Caius, the prætor, by order of the Senate, has set up this line of terminal stones to mark the extent of ground that must be kept absolutely free from dirt and from carcasses and from corpses.

On the bottom of this stone, in red letters, some probably near resident had written, "Do carry the dirt a little farther; otherwise you will be fined."

The long and active survival of disease germs in soil was also made manifest by excavations made inside a coffer-dam uncovering the bed of the Tiber, alongside the bridge leading to the Castle of St. Angelo, in Rome. Here, in successive strata, were found coins and other relics fixing the age of the deposit down to the fourth century A. D.



The soil, as it was slowly removed, was piled upon an adjoining wharf, and then taken away. When the very lowest and oldest of all the strata disturbed was so disposed of, an epidemic of typhoid fever broke out among the workmen and those living in the immediate vicinity. The result of careful examination is said to have shown that the trouble came from the lowest strata, and that the disease germs that had been lying dormant at the bottom of the Tiber for nearly 1500 years were still active for evil, and proved their vitality.

Roth examined the water of sixteen surface wells in Belgard, which has a very porous subsoil, and he found from 4,500 to 5,000 bacteria in three, from 7,800 to 15,000 in six, from 18,000 to 35,000 in six, and 130,000 per cubic centimeter in one. Forty-seven wells of Stettin, the water of which was examined by Link, gave the following results: less than 100 bacteria in six, 100 to 500 in twenty-one, and in the remainder (sixteen) from 1,000 to 18,000. Bolton examined the water of thirteen wells in Göttingen, and found but one in which the number of colonies from one cubic centimeter was less than 100; in twelve the number varied from 180 to 4,940. Sixty-four wells in Mainz, examined by Agre, and fifty-three in Gotha, by Becker, gave similar results.

It might be well to say something here about the best method of disinfecting a well once contaminated, so that it may again be used without danger. In case of a tubular well, it should first be pumped dry; the pipes should then be removed and placed for two hours in a two-per-cent carbolic-acid solution. Afterward they should be brushed, and several gallons of a five-per-cent solution of carbolic and sulphuric acids poured in. The pipes are then reinserted, and pumping is resumed until no trace of the carbolic acid can be detected in the water. This is determined by the phenol test on the addition of perchloride of iron. The common method of putting chalk into a well as a means of purifying it is of little value (Fränkel).

## THE DJINNS.

Translated from the French of VICTOR HUGO

BY HUBERT M. SKINNER.

A deep,  
Dead sleep  
On wall  
And town,  
And all  
Adown  
The gray  
Old bay.

Ah, but hark!  
From the dark —  
Ever nigher —  
Comes a dole  
Of the night,  
Like a soul  
In its flight,  
Chased by fire.

And now more clear  
The murmur swells.  
I seem to hear  
The jingling bells  
Of fools at court,  
And almost see  
Their Puckish sport  
And dance of glee.

Still nearer they come,  
And echoes have burst  
From walls that were dumb,  
Like chimes that are cursed —  
Like menacing cries  
From riotous mobs,  
That lull but to rise  
In angrier throbs.

O Heaven! That deathly call!  
The Djinns! What noise is theirs!  
Quick, to the darksome hall,  
And hide beneath the stairs!

The blast has quenched my lamp,  
 And high upon the walls  
 The shadow of the ramp,  
 A coiling monster, crawls.

The Djinnns are onward making,  
 In whirlwind cycles turning.  
 The lordly yews are breaking,  
 And snap, like pine knots burning.  
 And 'mid the forest crashes,  
 And through the open spaces,  
 With lurid lightning flashes,  
 The Demon legion races.

They're almost here! Bolt fast the door,  
 And in this hall defy their storm!  
 What noise without! O hideous corps,  
 Of vampire and of dragon form!  
 The roof-tree shakes — its fastening broke —  
 And bends, like rushes in the gales;  
 And the great door of ancient oak  
 Trembles to burst its rusted nails.

O sounds from Hell! O voice that shrieks and screams!  
 O hideous crowd, hurled on the north-wind's breath!  
 My house will fall! Already shake its beams,  
 Under the stress of that black host of death.  
 Its timbers creak and groan and strive and bend,  
 And from the solid earth are nearly torn.  
 Like a dry leaf in autumn, in the end,  
 Upon the Demon blast it will be borne.

O holy man, if thou wilt save  
 From these foul spirits of the air,  
 Thy humblest penance let me crave.  
 I bow my head in fervent prayer.  
 Grant that these faithful doors may hold  
 Against their flaming breath, amain,  
 And the black claws, of hideous mould,  
 Against my windows beat in vain.

Ah, they've started in retreat —  
 Turned in flight, and left my door;  
 And the beating of their feet  
 On the portal sounds no more.  
 But the clanking of their chains  
 Fills the air; the grand old trees  
 Shudder, as the Demon trains  
 Flash their fires upon the breeze.

Each passing moment brings,  
    Diminishing, and light,  
The flapping of the wings,  
    In their infernal flight —  
Borne softly o'er the vale,  
    And thin, like cricket's scratch,  
Or patter of the hail  
    Upon a cottage thatch.

Yet, distant and faint,  
    A monody floats,  
Like choruses quaint  
    From Arabic throats,  
When desert horn screams  
    To sand-dwellers wild,  
And happy dreams  
    The Bedouin child.

O dismal Djinn,  
    That ridest rare,  
A Child of Sin,  
    Upon the air!  
Unseen by eyes,  
    The waves that roll,  
E'en from the skies,  
    Oppress the soul.

Dying dirge,  
Like a surge  
Falling slow;  
    Like the plaint —  
Soft and low —  
    Of a saint,  
That is said  
O'er the dead.

All o'er  
    At last?  
Once more —  
    They've passed!  
They cease —  
    It ends,  
And peace  
    Descends.

## THE SENATE AND THE HOUSE.

BY THE EDITOR.

THE Senate of the United States has recently found a champion. A distinguished member of that body, Honorable George F. Hoar, Senior Senator from Massachusetts, has taken up the gauntlet. Under the inquiry, "Has the Senate Degenerated?" he contributes to *The Forum* for April a cogent and vigorous article. The inquiry he answers in the negative. His paper is a historical and expository protest. The Senator notes the widespread distrust which has been broadcast by the public press relative to the Senatorial body. He seeks to account for this distrust and to show that, in great measure, it is unfounded in truth. He repels the charges indiscriminately made against the great Legislative Council to which he belongs.

The contribution of this eminent publicist is quite impartial. It is written necessarily from within. For this reason it bears the usual marks of that class of composition which the Greeks called *apologia*. Senator Hoar has uttered what he *thinks*, and what is, we believe, justified by the facts; but he has not written all. He has spoken under duress of the environment. I will venture, therefore, to take up the unexhausted theme and to offer, in the current number of THE ARENA, some views of my own under the caption of "The Senate and the House."

In the discussion I shall bring into view *both* of our great legislative bodies, and consider more broadly the tendency of that large and important fact in our political life — *the Congress of the United States*.

The present aspect of the legislative department of our government is an anomaly and a surprise. If history, that never smiles, could be astonished at anything, it would be at this. The position into which the evolution of the political life in America has brought the Senate and the House of Representatives is so strained and so unexpected as to require more than a passing notice. No age is ever fully conscious of itself; but a strong effort of the mind may enable us to mark the surprising attitude which the Upper and Lower Houses of Congress now occupy as a part of our national machinery and as an expression of political growth in the American Republic.

We need not restate the place which the House of Representatives was *intended* to occupy in our public life. We need not refer to the well-known function which the Senate was *intended* to perform in our national system. The first was intended to stand for the popular will and to express it. The other was intended to stand for the States, as



such, for the interests and general purpose of State populations, and for the organic autonomy of the several commonwealths composing the Union. The Senate was intended also to hold the place of a superior legislative council, without regard to the derivation of its membership, the method of their election, or the constituencies which they should represent.

It was under this scheme and intent that the government was organized. It was in this form that the public life of the nation was conducted during the first century of our existence as a nation. The House represented the people, and was close to them. The Senate represented the States and the interests and organic life of the States, acting also as an Upper House, or Council, in the Congress. The Senate was far from the people, and the House was near to them.

It is only within the last twenty years that the changed and changing conditions of American life have borne upon the constitution and method of the two Houses in such a way as to modify the original intent and actually to reverse their relative positions. It has come to pass that the Senate represents the body of the people, and that the House represents — well, the House!

In the retrospect we are able to discover the facts and conditions which have brought about this result. After the Civil War, there began to be in America a great corporate life. This corporate life was not foreseen and was not provided for in the original plan of our government. The people were provided for; the States were provided for; public interests and local concerns were provided for; but the great fact of corporation as a modifying force in the life of the American nation was not provided for and was not anticipated.

But the corporation came. It intruded itself more and more, in the seventies and the eighties; and in the nineties it has become almost the dominant fact in the life of the United States. Man, as a citizen, as an individual, is engaged in a struggle which appears to be a life-and-death conflict with corporation. There is not a man in America who has the prescience to discover which of the combatants will ultimately be victorious; patriots hope and believe that the people will win.

We do not here enter into a discussion of the contest of the people with the organic powers. We merely refer to it as one of the bottom causes of the reversed relations of the Senate and the House of Representatives. It is organic power in its partisan aspect which has converted the House of Representatives into a machine, subject to the will of party; and it is organic power in its commercial form which has alarmed the Senate into the sudden assertion of itself as the representative body and voice of the people. I am aware that this is stating the question in a manner diametrically opposed to common assertion and belief; but the truth is the truth; and popular tradition, broadly promul-

gated and loudly proclaimed by a press which represents nothing but the incorporated interests of the country, will have to take care of itself.

PARTY and CORPORATION, then, are the two facts which have become unexpectedly dominant in the United States. Of these two, party is the worse despot—the more dangerous foe. The party machine has been not only invented and constructed, but perfected. More than any other contrivance of the age, the party machine is in order and operation. Organization was never more effective in anything than in this. In Great Britain they say that Parliament rules, and the Queen reigns. In America the party both rules and reigns. Certainly there was a partisan division from the early years of the republic, but it is only within recent times that the party has become automatic, self-existing, self-supporting, and eternal. Formerly it was a means unto an end; now it is the end to which all things else are the means.

The political party, *when in union with corporate power*, is supreme in America. When the two act together for a common end, experience shows that nothing can withstand them; at least nothing has withstood them. When they do not act together—when one acts as a check upon the other—the people have still a measure of power and spontaneous right. Corporate power offers itself as an ally of the party—of either party. It lends itself to the party for its own good. It is for sale to the highest bidder, and generally commands an extraordinary price. We must note, however, that while corporate power is a *unit*, the partisan contrivance is divided into *two*. Two parties compete for the assistance of the corporation. They bid against each other; they contend valiantly for the favor of the corporation damsel.

These, then, are the forces that play upon both Congress and people. Congress is the special prey of two goblins, corporate power and party despotism. The party has intrenched itself in the House of Representatives, while corporate power finds its greatest opportunity and inducement in the Senate. Partisanship more and more has gained the ascendancy over the Representative body; and corporate influence has extended its sway more and more in the Senate. Of the two tyrannies, the party despotism is far more absolute and destructive than that of the corporation. It has been far more fatal in its ravages. The corporation is at least rational. Its motives are motives that may be appreciated by a human being, and may be expressed in a form that appeals to the understanding, if not to the heart. If the corporation is inhuman, it is at least intellectual and reasonable. Party despotism, on the other hand, is devoid of both reason and humanity. It is the literal truth that no tyranny ever known among men, from the mere animal rule of an Apache chief to the abominable despotism of the Czar, is

comparable with the senseless, absurd, and depraved tyranny of a party organization.

It has chanced, in the course of our public history, that the party has found its most advantageous field of operations in the House of Representatives. Corporate despotism has found its greater opportunity in the arena of the Senate. The party has made the more rapid and complete conquest. The House of Representatives has fallen into the absolute control of the party. It no longer stands before the party ogre, or resists it. It no longer utters a protest against the power to which it has yielded. The machine has come in and established itself in the arena of popular representation. All the human forces and all the forces of reason and truth have been whirled into the cylinder and converted into party products.

On the other hand, it must be confessed that the corporation has made great headway in the Senate. It has fought and won there some memorable and infamous battles. It has taken Senatorial territory and built forts and entrenchments for future operations; but it has not succeeded in entirely destroying the autonomy of the Senate or in reducing it to slavish service. The Senate still stands. The Senate still has a voice. The Senate still cries out and makes battle. The Senate still utters its appeal; and its voice is heard. The man may still rise and proclaim his right in that august tribunal. There are Senators who are still unscared and unsubdued. Many still have the courage to declare the truth and to contend for it, with no greater dread than that of being derided by a horde of partisans and misrepresented by the Associated Press.

In the Lower House, on the other hand, there is positively no longer an outcry of individuality. The whole progress of the event has there been reduced to a struggle, the end of which is partisan advantage and nothing more. Since one party is always dominant over the other, the party in power in the House is absolute. It concedes to its antagonist no more than a certain nominal right, and this concession is a necessity of the situation. The party in power in the House must have something for a foil. It must have an opposition of some kind against which to exert itself. It must beat something, either man of straw or punching-bag or effigy or inflated fiction of some kind, in order that the country may be taken in with a show of prowess.

The party in minority is the foil. It is the stuffed bag hung up for the adherents of the dominant faction to practice on. With the permission of the Speaker and some chairman of a committee—but not without it—any member of the majority may have the floor. He may walk down the aisle and punch the bag to the delight of the House and the galleries. But beyond this the individual in the House

of Representatives has no further right, no further function, no further existence. The greatest man in the United States, chosen a Representative, may present his credentials, take his oath, and be assigned to a seat. There, if he be in the minority, he shall sit until the Speaker nod! He is as incapable of initiative as though he had never been born. He has no longer a vestige of a right. He cannot speak. He cannot effectively propose a measure. He cannot advocate the most salutary resolution or denounce the most obvious fraud. He is absolutely subjected to the organic machine.

The organic machine is, in turn, absolutely subjected to the will of the Speaker. The Speaker constructs his committees. In doing so he labors assiduously — to carry out his own purposes. Weeks are consumed in a transaction that ought not to occupy six hours. The Speaker marks his man. He who will be chairman of a committee must be in accord with the Speaker. He must be the Speaker's man. All the chairmen must be of precisely this subservient type. Not only so, but the majority of each committee must be made up of the same complexion and quality as the chairman. The majority must be the men of the chairman, just as he is the man of the Speaker. The device is absolute. No driver of eight-in-hand, with all of the reins gathered up and his feet on the board, was ever more a despot in control of his team than is the Speaker of the House in drawing up and limiting all the lines of influence and power. Woe be to any refractory horse! The bit in his mouth is severe, and the cut of the whip on his back and flank is sharp and dangerous.

It is by this process that the House of Representatives has lost its autonomy, its individual initiative, and its representative character. The members of the House are a pint of sand carried in the Speaker's pocket; the smaller the particles the better. The Speaker is carried in the pocket of his party, and the party is carried in the pocket of a few men who manage its concerns and determine its "principles."

Under this sceptre where are the people? Nowhere. Where are their rights? Purely mythical. Where is their power? Paralyzed and destroyed by the ascendancy of party. Recently it has been loudly proclaimed that the actions of the House of Representatives are the actions of the people. It is said that the Representatives are "fresh from the people"; that they know the people's voice, and do the people's bidding. There never was a greater sophism, never a greater falsehood. The House of Representatives, in the last ten or fifteen years of our history, has not represented the people at all. On the contrary, it has misrepresented the people, and has stood for the very measures which were most hurtful and withal most hateful to the public sense. It has represented nothing but the party machine and the caucus. The "princi-

ples " promoted in the House and enacted into policy have been the principles of party exigency, not the principles of the people.

In the Senate we have had sundry prodigious scandals resulting from the exertion of corporate power within that arena and from the individual subserviency of members ; but we have not had the establishment of party absolutism. No party is, as yet, the autocrat of the Senate of the United States. No party has been able to set up its empire in that arena ; and it is the *only* arena from shore to shore of this great Republic in which the party is not supremè. It is *because* the party has not succeeded in mastering the Senate, in compelling it to do the behests of party, in forcing it against conscience and reason to join the procession of absolutism, — it is *because* of this that the Senate has been of late denounced by all the interested organs of public opinion as a body corrupt, fallen, lost to public esteem, un-American, and unfit for the further performance of its august functions in our American system.

The cry is false. The Senate has not yet fallen. It is because it *has not* fallen that the cry against it has been raised. It is because the Senate still struggles and protests, still utters a manly cry on behalf of the people as against organic power, that it has suffered at the hands of party commanders. The unthoughtful among the people have been led to believe that the Senate of the United States is in decadence, that it is a fog-bank of ignorance and obstinacy, a quagmire of corrupt and croaking monsters. It is no such thing.

It is unfortunately true that wealth has gained too great a footing in the Senate. It is unfortunately true that corporate influence has reached too far into the actions and deliberations of that body. It is unfortunately true that for about twenty years the millionaires have come booming in and the brains have gone oozing out. But, on the whole, the Senate of the United States has not fallen and has not decayed. On the contrary, the erect attitude of the Senate against some of the most malevolent influences that are at work in our body politic is an inspiration to patriotism. Strange to note the Senate of the United States acting as the representative body of the people, while the House of " Representatives," no longer representative, is subjected to the control and absolute manipulation of an unprincipled machine, offering its services quadrennially by auction to the highest bidder !



## THE EDITOR'S EVENING.

### A Criticism.

I BELIEVE that the greatest vice of the English-speaking race is its casuistry. The man who speaks English will persuade himself that anything is fit; then he will espouse it as a fact, and defend it with words and sword. Perhaps the thing in question is only plausible or expedient. Perhaps it is positively a false fact. Perhaps it is the sheerest fallacy, tricked out in some disguise of desire. Perhaps the instructed conscience spurns it; but the covert wish or hope or ambition of the man of English kind is sufficient to transmute the fact, however poor and rotten it is, into the radiant image of truth and the golden vision of humanity.

A large part of the history of Anglo-Saxondom since the sixteenth century has been involved with this casuistical disposition of the race. There is scarcely a fact in our race career which is not, in part, the product of this ethnic trait to trump up something and exploit it as the thing important to civilization and progress — this, while the really important thing is overlooked, denied, and scandalized. The reason of this is that the factitious fact is always easy, and the real fact is always hard. The hard fact, however, is the fact of progress and truth; the factitious fact is the fact of sham and lullaby and retrogression.

Out of these conditions the strong tendency and practice of the English-speaking race to reform something far-off, but never to reform the obvious and necessary thing, has shown itself. To grapple with the near-by fact and to re-create it is always hard; it involves individual exhaustion and race anguish to do it. To deal with the far-off, nebulous fact is easy; for that may be lied about and reformed with mere ink. If it be the Eastern Question, anybody can do it; a newspaper can do it; a "journalist" can do it well; a politician can do it better; a crank can do it best. If it be Armenia, there is no telling the amount of horror and reform which an Englishman or an Anglo-American can feel over that. If it be Turkey, about one hundred and twenty millions of us stand aghast. If it be Crete, let no man doubt that we are sorry for the Cretans and would fight for them. If it be Greece, we burn with indignation. If it be Venezuela, all men can manage so small an affair — and all are eager to try. If it be Hawaii, behold how deeply a nation concerns itself; the throne of Liliuokalani is an issue. If it be Cuba, let the fires of patriotism kindle on every height; *Hispania delenda est*.

It is a great thing, in men and races, to care for the oppressed ; it is good and great to succor. Magnanimity and patriotism are the noblest virtues of mankind. No thought unphilanthropic or little flits, bat-like, through the shadows of "The Editor's Evening." Let us indeed sorrow for slaughtered Armenia. Let us sympathize with the Greeks and the Cretans. Let us ask for justice in the matter of the Schomburgk Line. Let us think more of the Hawaiians than we do of the American adventurers who (English-like) have snatched the islands. Let us, in particular, wish that Cuba shall be free under her own flag ; maybe, under the stars and stripes !

But, first of all, let us devoutly attend to our own business. We have enough to do on this line. Great Britain also has enough to do. She, always so strong to reform and rectify the world, would better begin at home — under the very shadow of Westminster and the Tower. Has she no House of Lords ? Has she no London with its purlieus, the basest and darkest and most depraved in the world ? Has she no collieries, with their sooty millions going down daily into the earth to toil unblest for mankind ? Has she no peasantry to be liberated and lifted up ? Has she no manufacturing cities with their heaped-up millions of human beings struggling for bread and a little life ?

As for America, have we nothing except Greeks and Cubans on which to exercise our patriotism and philanthropy ? Are there no causes in these States sufficiently great, no questions sufficiently profound, to demand and absorb the energies of both government and people ? Where, for example, is the American citizen, aforesaid free, independent, individual, spontaneous, — where is he going to ? Where has he almost gone ? What is becoming of our splendid New-World democracy, born on Bunker Hill and glorified in primitive Kansas ? What is becoming of the immeasurable products of industry in this nation ? Who is consuming them ? Is it the toiling millions, or is it the idle few ? What is the financial condition of this Republic and this people ? Is it good, or is it bad ? Will it be better or worse in the hands of those who are responsible for it ? Will the corporation submit, or will it rule ? Will the railway dominate, or will it serve ? Will the telegraph reign, or yield ? Will the great municipality be republican and just, or will it be imperial and corrupt ? Will the people, in a word, survive and be free, or will they go under and be slaves again ?

These matters ought to suffice for public interest. They ought to absorb the energies of both people and government. We are told, in these days, that all is quiet on the Potomac. Perhaps so ; but not all is quiet in the bosom of mankind. As for the thoughtful man who

loves his country and is proud to be a child of the Republic, he would rather see the governing powers of this great people, and the people themselves, concerned with the real facts and hard questions of American civilization, than to see a casuistical patriotism, a quixotical philanthropy, concerning itself about the wars and politics of foreign states. Mark Antony, describing to the half-drunken Lepidus the qualities of the crocodile, said, "And the tears of it are *wet*."

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**The Arena asks for an Appointment.**

It is to be hoped that the sunset years of the century may yet behold something good. We have waited long — very long. Others before have waited. How gradually it has come — this emancipation of woman! — this elevation of her to her place. The event, however, now seems imminent; and why not?

What an essential absurdity it has been to base political and civil prerogatives on mere physiological distinctions in human kind! The future will refuse to believe that anyone possessing reason, conscience, the ability to see and to know, could ever have been guilty of so preposterous a theory of human rights as that which, for centuries, has assigned the women of the world to political and civil, as well as domestic, servitude. There is just one word in the vocabulary which adequately defines such a theory of life — brutal.

These remarks are suggested by the fact that an eminent American woman, Mrs. Marilla M. Ricker, of New Hampshire, has now, we learn, very properly presented herself to the governing powers at Washington for an appointment as Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States to our sister republic, the Republic of Colombia. THE ARENA may have little influence in shaping the appointments about to be made at Washington, but THE ARENA is for Mrs. Ricker! It is for her *quoad hoc*; that is, as far as our influence extends. This may be said humorously, but every word of it is sincerely and seriously meant.

In allegory and poetry America has always been represented as a woman. Miss Columbia is a woman by the common suffrage of art and letters. Why should not the United States, therefore, be represented at a foreign court by that sex which properly symbolizes the best and purest of our patriotism and poetic dreams?

We have reason to believe that Mrs. Ricker is greatly capable in character and attainments to be Minister of the United States to Bogotá. If there be any reason why she should *not* receive the appointment, we do not perceive it. Nobody can perceive such reason — unless it be the rival candidates for the place. As to them, let pass. If that eminent personage who was aforesaid Major William McKinley, Jr., but

who is now, by the suffrage of the people, President McKinley of the United States, should hear and heed our still small voice, so honestly uttered, he would hear and heed a good thing. We are not his constitutional adviser, but we are a friend in disguise.

#### The Size of Gods.

Modern people have amusing notions about the magnitude of the deities. The idea is that a god is greater for being big. Nothing could more strongly illustrate the subjective origin of mythology, and of theology in general, than the ideas which are unconsciously entertained of the stature, attributes, physiognomy, and manners of the divinities. All these are clearly projected from the inner consciousness of the thinker; they have no substantial basis in the objectivities to which they refer. Why, for example, should anyone suppose Zeus, or the old Hindu Dyaus Pitar, to be of colossal size? Why should not Poseidon and Pluto, the brothers of Zeus, be as large as he? Would it require a ruler of greater size to govern the empyrean than to dominate the earth or the sea? There is not, and there never was, a premonitory symptom of logic in the notion that a god, in order to be mighty, must be colossal. Were it otherwise the smallest member of the Potsdam guards would have been greater than Napoleon.

These thoughts came into my mind while admiring the beautiful reproduction of the Hermes of Praxiteles. This work stands in one of the principal corridors of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts. Apropos of the original, there is hardly a finer piece of statuary preserved to us out of the broken immortalities of the great Greeks. Hermes is usually imagined to be small in stature. He is conceived as being, as it were, but recently graduated from that theocratic kindergarten in which Eros remains an everlasting boy.

The same illustration of subjective concepts developed into objective realities is illustrated on the feminine side of the pagan pantheon. The female divinities are, in like manner and by common fame, graded down from the imperial Juno to such maidens as Hebe and Iris. The signs of this gradation are plainly seen in literature as far back as Vergil, in whose mildly epic mind Juno appears as a most majestic personage, in comparison with whose tall figure and imperial bearing all the other divinities are dwarfed into attendants and supernumeraries. It is not clear, however, that Homer thought of the gods and goddesses as thus discriminated in size. In the Homeric imagination, the deities were indeed lifted high above the Titans and above mankind. But it is doubtful if the Father of Poetry conceived of the gods as graded in mere physical bigness.

But speaking of Hermes: It is evident that Praxiteles conceived

of that deity as a full-grown god. I believe that his Eros was also produced in full proportions. As to Hermes, I can give the measurements. On the second day of the new administration, being then in the spirit, I amused myself by measuring Hermes with a reed and bit of tape. I refer, of course, to the celebrated reproduction bearing the supposed infant Dionysos in his arm. I note from the engraving of this work in Falke's "Hellas and Rome" that the Dionysos is wanting — at least, most of him is wanting — in the original. But the infant has been "restored" in the cast by some clumsy hand, — that of Schaper, of Berlin, — trying, I suppose, to make out the work of the master. As to Dionysos, he is, from the hips upward, a mere supposititious daub.

Here follow the measurements, from which the curious may see that the Hermes of Praxiteles was not — is not — an infant: From crown to plane of pedestal (foot wanting), seven feet, three inches; from hip to foot, four feet, one inch; from knee to foot, two feet, two and a half inches; circumference of head, thirty-one inches; from forehead to point of nose, five inches; circumference of neck, nineteen inches; from chin to clavicle, five inches; circumference of chest, forty-nine and three-eighths inches; circumference of waist, forty-one and one-half inches; circumference of hips, forty-nine inches; circumference of thigh, twenty-five and one-fourth inches; circumference of upper arm, seventeen inches; from shoulder to shoulder, seventeen and one-fourth inches; from eye of Hermes to face of Dionysos, twelve and three-fourths inches.

These measurements would seem to justify the opinion of the ancient Germans, in whose mythology Hermes was chief of the Pantheon. Cæsar says of them, *Deos colunt, maxime Mercurium*; that is, "They [the Germans] worship the gods, chiefly Mercury."

#### L'Académie des Bouvreuils.

I know of nothing more pathetic than the education of the bullfinch. It is the discipline of rayless night. The result is song; the means of reaching it are total darkness and semi-starvation. In Germany one may find the Bullfinch Academy in which this cult of song by darkness is assiduously sought. The academy has branch institutions in several places, all private and all under, not the patronage, but the surveillance, of the state. The empire regards the bullfinch as a perquisite. No one may lawfully capture or imprison or distress a member of the bullfinch family. To do so is fine and imprisonment. But many break the law, and the Bullfinch Academy is established in which to educate the winged prisoners.

The native, or race song of the bullfinch is little more than a chirrup. It is a sparrowy cry, and has little suggestion of the plaintive



flutelike whistle which the feathered soloist is taught to render under instruction in captivity. The educated bird performs his theme, or themes, of from six to twelve notes from famous airs with almost perfect art. As I sat in the chair of my friend Bertram, in the tonsorial parlor of the Hoffman, I listened with deep sympathy to the touching rehearsal of a bird of this kind. He was a German specialist, a graduate of the Bullfinch Academy. I learned the method of his education.

When the baby bullfinch is about to be, in the very event of his birth, he is taken into a darkened chamber; not a ray of light is admitted until his education is finished. The little one is virtually deprived of food. A harmonicon or some such instrument, running automatically and attuned to the theme of the required air, is set going in the room. Over and over the theme is played. For the rest there is silence and pitchy darkness. At last the starving and lonesome bird-soul begins to move under the vibrations of the strain. The little brain begins to oscillate, and, lo! a faint piping imitation of the air is heard. Again and again the feeble strain is taken up and rendered. At length the given air is learned—and then another; sometimes the work is continued until four or five themes are learned—learned forever. Such is the profound impression made in the sensorium of the bird-child captive that he never forgets to repeat the airs which he learns under the cruel discipline of darkness and solitude. Perhaps all poets are taught to sing in this manner!

After the discipline is complete, the little bird never utters his native note again. Indeed, he never utters it at all; for that, in a state of nature, is caught from the mother singer. His race song is lost for all time, being replaced with the transferred human melody; just as the poet of our own kind, out of suffering and solitude, sings a song derived from—where?

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#### Victory — Winged and Wingless.

The best products of the mind are yielded under powerful impressions. It was thus that Little Billee made the sketch of Trilby's foot. It was thus that Buckle, while composing his review of Mill's "Essay," turned aside and evolved his cogent argument on immortality; his mother had died. It was thus that Samuel Johnson produced "Rasselas" in a week; his mother, too, had died. It was thus that the Son of Abdallah used to fall into Koranic trances; he had seen visions. It was thus that Phidias produced his statue of Winged Victory. The eternal fame of Salamis was still *flying* in the air.

Looking at the broken wings of this matchless fragment, I could but say: "Winged Victory! Well done, Phidias, to make Victory with pinions!" For certainly Victory flies. I remember how the fame of

Gettysburg and Spottsylvania flew — flew to the remotest village and farmhouse; flew to the rivers and the mountains; flew to the pine woods and the Golden Gate.

But I also remember that the great artists have many times embodied their concepts of victory in statues *without* wings. This kind they call *apteros*, or wingless. Several such have come down to us from the art relics of the great ages. But why should victory ever be wingless? Do we not still say, in an age of prose and politics, that victory hovers over this army or that? Do we not still say that battle-fame flies? Do we not still say that the shout of triumph arose as victory alighted on the standard? Why then should not all victories be winged?

The answer seems to be that victory, in the concept of genius, sometimes appears as coming to *stay*. In such case the image that flies hither and alights, arises no more to soar abroad. The idea is that of victorious repose *after* the battle and the triumph. The art-concept is that of fixed results that remain, inspiring and blessing the victors; these results must not fly away! Winged victory is that which comes on powerful pinion, announcing, as it were, with shout and pæan, the auspicious issue of the battle. But victory *apteros* is the happy result and after-pride of war which remain in regenerated institutions, in glorious memorials, in poem and on canvas, and in the transformed souls of men.

Let Appomattox be a Victory Apteris — wingless forever!

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W. S.

Sublime through ages, not as others are,  
 But as himself — and therefore most sublime!  
 The bard of prophecy to endless time;  
 Greater than Goethe, or the Morning Star  
 Of English song, or him who sleeps afar  
 And undisturbed in Santa Croce's clime,  
 Or him who, hoary with heroic rime,  
 Sang the loud bruit of the immortal war!  
 Low is the tomb at Stratford! but the dust  
 "Enclosed" there and trace of mould therewith  
 Outweigh the Abbey as the world a clod!  
 A misspelled epitaph, a mildewed bust,  
 A slab, a railing, and a peasant's myth —  
 These are the trophies of the slumbering god!

## BOOK REVIEWS.

[In this Department of THE ARENA no book will be reviewed which is not regarded as a real addition to literature.]

### The Story of Canada.<sup>1</sup>

American writers are not unacquainted with that excellent series of works published under the general title of "The Story of the Nations."

"Story" is a favorite term with the writers of our times, abridged, as it is, from the more formal word, "history." There is a hint in this usage that the narrative, in the case of a historical story, runs more easily and somewhat more colloquially than does the formal, and many times pompous, narrative of history proper. We should say, however, that some of the best writings of our time have been produced under the name of story. It were hard to say to what extent general knowledge has been augmented by the study of books bearing this popular title.

The last number of the Story-of-the-Nations series is "The Story of Canada," by Hon. John George Bourinot, Clerk of the Canadian Commons. The author is one of the most distinguished men, we think we may say the most distinguished writer, of the Dominion. As Dr. Johnson said of Goldsmith, "he has touched many kinds of work, and touched nothing which he has not adorned." He is a useful publicist, having served for a considerable length of time in the important office of Clerk to the Commons. He has written much. He is a leading contributor to the best magazines of England, including *The Quarterly*. He is an eminent scholar. He is a companionable and generous spirit whom it is a pleasure, not only to his own countrymen but to all sane Americans, to know. To enjoy his friendship is an inspiration. He is one of those gentlemen whose activities and mental habits are shot through with gleams of fructifying sunshine, illuminating the whole landscape and making it a place of resort for pilgrims whose scallop-shells are broken, and whose sandal-shoon are worn with desert travel.

Doctor Bourinot bears for his scholastic titles, LL. D., D. C. L. He has won them by genuine attainments in learning. Besides his office as Clerk of the Commons, he is Honorary Secretary of the Royal Society of Canada, Doctor of Letters of Laval University, Honorary member of the American Antiquarian Society, etc. He is the author of several works on the constitution and History of Canada, which have given him a substantial reputation beyond the borders of the Dominion. He is a member of the Western Association of Writers, and has attended several of the annual meetings of that body at the Warsaw Lakes—to the great delight of his friends in our Central States.

"The Story of Canada" is dedicated, we might say consecrated, by the author, to the Countess of Aberdeen. We venture to transcribe Doctor Bourinot's inscription of his work to that eminent lady:

"I DEDICATE THIS STORY OF CANADA  
BY PERMISSION  
TO  
HER EXCELLENCY THE COUNTESS OF ABERDEEN  
WHO HAS WON THE ESTEEM AND AFFECTION OF ALL CLASSES  
OF THE CANADIAN PEOPLE BY THE EARNESTNESS WITH  
WHICH SHE HAS IDENTIFIED HERSELF WITH  
EVERY MOVEMENT AFFECTING THE SOCIAL  
AND INTELLECTUAL PROGRESS OF  
THE NEW DOMINION."

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<sup>1</sup>"The Story of Canada." By J. G. Bourinot, C. M. G., LL. D., D. C. L.; Clerk of the Canadian House of Commons; Honorary Secretary of the Royal Society of Canada; Docteur-ès-Lettres

The contents of "The Story of Canada" include a Bibliographical Note and an Introduction, in which a general view of the Canadian Dominion from ocean to ocean is given. The second chapter is on "The Dawn of Discovery in Canada," in which the author sketches the history of adventure in the North, from 1497 to 1525. The third chapter is devoted to the voyages and explorations of Jacques Cartier who may, in many respects, be regarded as the founder of French Canada. After this epoch (1534-1536) we have chapter IV, covering the period from 1540 to 1603; that is, from Cartier to De Monts. Chapter 5th is devoted to "The French Occupation of Acadia and the Foundation of Port Royal (1604-1614)." Then comes the story of Champlain and his wanderings and adventures in the valley of the St. Lawrence. The period embraced in this extends from 1608 to 1635.

Then follows the romantic period in Canadian history, which the author describes under the heading of "Gentlemen-Adventurers in Acadia"; this carries the narrative down to 1677.

Chapter eighth is devoted to "The Canadian Indians and the Iroquois." In this part the author gives an account of the organization, character, and customs of the native races of the St. Lawrence. He then proceeds to sketch the "Convents and Hospitals" that were established in the epoch between 1635 and 1652. Thereafter the narrative continues through the gloomy period (1652-1667) ending with the humiliation of the Iroquois.

With the year 1663 we strike solid ground in the institution of a Provincial Government over Canada. In this the author discusses "The Church and the State" at that epoch. Special studies occupy the body of the work from chapter XII to the close, in chapter XXIX. The topics are "The Period of Exploration and Discovery," extending through two chapters, "Canada and Acadia," "Acadia and Île Royale"; "The Struggle for Dominion in the Great Valleys of North America," extending through three chapters; "The Period of Transition (1760-1774)"; "The American Revolution," including the Invasion of Canada, the Death of Montgomery, and the Treaty of Peace.

Chapter XXI is entitled "Coming of the Loyalists"; then we have the "Foundation of New Provinces" and the planting of representative institutions in the North. "The Patriotism of the Canadians" is set forth in Chapter XXIII, which is devoted to the War of 1812. The period from 1815 to 1840, Dr. Bourinot defines under the head of "Political Strife and Rebellion." The title of Chapter XXV is "Responsible Government and its Results"; of Chapter XXVI, "End of the Rule of the Fur-Traders and Acquisition of the Northwest." Under this head an account of Riel's rebellion is given. The next chapter is devoted to "British Columbia and Prince Edward Island" and their entry into the Canadian Union. In this chapter the narrative covers the history of events since 1867, with some notice of the great men whom the author defines as "Makers of the Dominion." Chapter XXVIII includes a study of "Canada as a Nation," and Chapter XXIX is devoted to a special study under the head of "French Canada."

The narrative throughout Dr. Bourinot's work is perspicuous, strong, and in many places brilliant. The work is compendious; much is included in little. It is evident that the author has not lacked for materials. His studies, as indicated in the Bibliographical Note, have been made from the original documents; his authorities are ample; his statements of fact cannot, we think, be seriously criticised in any part. His deductions, while they may be a little tinged with Dr. Bourinot's political sentiments, are nevertheless not colored to the extent of distortion or untruth.

"The Story of Canada" is, throughout, a book that may well be set with confidence and pride in the library of American and English readers, — confidence in the

work as a positive addition to our current literature, and pride that a Canadian American has written the story of an important part of our ethnical and institutional heritage in the New World in a spirit so broad and catholic as to remind us once more of our common origin, and, let us hope, of our common destiny.

### A Bard of the Transmissouri.<sup>1</sup>

Thirty-one years ago, at this hour, the writer was travelling alone across the magnificent prairies of Kansas. He was *en route* from Topeka and Lawrence to Fort Scott. The illimitable plain, swelling and subsiding like the sea, was already covered with green grass and wild flowers; it was April. Here and there in the wonderful landscape might be seen a chimney standing as a memorial of Quantrell's burnings. Topeka was a village of plank houses. Massachusetts Street, in Lawrence, was beginning to restore itself from the barbarous wreck in which the fierce guerilla had left it.

Nature was never more fresh and rarely more sublime. The verdant prairies of great Kansas awaited the incoming millions. Deep was the impression which all this made on my mind; I was prospecting, as a youth, to find a place from which to begin. But fate decreed it otherwise.

One might well inquire, as I did on that lonesome, happy journey, what would be the intellectual development of the Kansan race. I will say, in passing, that no better race has lived on the earth. The Eastern parts of the Union contributed to form the unrivalled stock of patriots and heroes who made Kansas forever famous in the later Fifties. The elements which were thrown together there coalesced; out of that coalescence and vital union has sprung the present race, strong, free, audacious, and, I may say, beautiful. The prejudice against Kansas as a State, and against the people of Kansas, is the most unfounded and absurd, envious passion of locality and development ever seen in America. For one, I not only spurn the prejudice, but I rejoice in being allied on the intellectual and ethical side with that race of stalwart heroes who have done the State of Kansas proud in the history of the nation.

But I was intending to speak of the literary evolution in Kansas, and of some of its best products. Among the latter I select as the best of the best, "The Rhymes of Ironquill." I think I shall betray no confidence and give out no secrets by saying that "Ironquill, of Kansas," is the literary name of the Honorable Eugene F. Ware, of Topeka, who, as a publicist and man of affairs, is second to none of the leaders of that great commonwealth. I select Mr. Ware and his poems, in part, because he and they best represent the normal literary evolution of the Kansan people. His poetry is the natural blossom of the conditions among which it came to efflorescence.

Ironquill of Kansas is himself. He is a Kansan of the Kansans. His muse is native and to the manner born. She wears no foreign draperies; she apes no foreign fashions. She is virgin and translucent. Her melodies are out of the windharp of the prairies. If she adorns herself with any foreign decoration, it is only now and then with a classical rose out of the garden of the Greeks.

Mr. Ware is a well-educated man. He has a trained intellect. His profession of the law as well as his collegiate discipline in youth has contributed to the practical and robust development of all his faculties. He is, to them who know him well—as the writer has the good fortune to know him—emphatically Nature's man. His presence is commanding; his nature, generous; his manner, hearty. He is incapable of jealousy; the fatal literary littleness which afflicts so many is unknown in the life and purpose of this strong, manly poet.

"The Rhymes of Ironquill" are, I repeat, the best expression of the ideal and imaginative life of the Kansans. More largely, the book is a remarkable product of

<sup>1</sup>"Some of the Rhymes of Ironquill. A Book of Moods." Fourth Edition. One vol., small 8vo, pp. 334. Topeka: Crane & Company, 1896.



our times. The personality of the author, has made it so; the surroundings among which these songs were sung have set and shaped the themes and melodies.

The volume before me contains one hundred and sixty-nine poems. They vary in subject from the wild jocularities of the prairies to the highest visions of creative art. Sometimes they are patriotic; sometimes they contain a reflection of home life, of love, of companionships, of nature, and, finally, of a high and profoundly philosophical insight into the universal *thing*. Let no one suppose that the muse of Ironquill is not capable of high flights. Some of his poems are replete with the deep wisdom of the real. There is, here and there, a curious astronomical or astrological touch which carries them high above the plane on which most poems are projected. Over the humor ever rise beautiful images of human things *as they are*. Some of Mr. Ware's poetical bits are as sublime as they are original.

There is that in this volume also which may arouse the stormiest memories. Out of the "Organ-Grinder," for example, I quote the following — with the explanation that the organ-grinder, playing from house to house, has come to some of the old war tunes. A last his insensate, automatic music-box begins to grind out "Der Deutscher Companie." This fires the patriotic passion of the poet, and he cries:

Der Deutscher companie ish der beshtest companie —  
The music bears me backward to the year of '63.  
I saw a German regiment step out from our brigade;  
It marched across a meadow where a hundred cannon played;  
Its bugles hurled defiance as it skirmished up a slope  
Amid a fire that gave no man the promise of a hope.

They fell like wheat; they came not back; at night no bugles played —  
There was no German regiment attached to our brigade.  
The world has seen thy valor, O land of song and vine!  
Since Hermann plucked the eagles from the ramparts of the Rhine.  
Down valor's lustrous colonnade is seen the marble throng —  
Thy warriors and thy scholars, O land of vine and song.

Whoever has written a finer outburst than that, let him stand forth.

Sometimes this strong Ironquill is tender. He takes "Netsie" (I suppose his own little girl) on his knee, and says to her:

Happiness or heartbreak  
If it sadly be,  
Blue-eyed little daughter  
Sitting on my knee,  
Though I may be buried  
I will grieve with thee.  
  
When the ache is ended,  
We can go and see  
Our old home in Lyrn,  
Where the rainbows be;  
You will have a world of fun  
When you go with me.

In the poet's opening number he gives us "The Washerwoman's Song," celebrated not a little in those circles where people are still able to recognize poetry when it comes. The poet himself is not a believer, but the washerwoman believes and sings, while she rubs and scrubs, with the baby on the floor paddling in the pools of suds. She sings of a Saviour and a friend, who will keep her always. The poet hears the song and utters this as the reply of his heart:

It's a song I do not sing,  
For I scarce believe a thing  
Of the stories that are told  
Of the miracles of old;  
But I know that her belief  
Is the anodyne of grief,  
And will always be a friend  
That will keep her to the end.

Out of a game of "Whist" the author extracts the following philosophy:

Hour after hour the cards were fairly shuffled  
And fairly dealt, but still I got no hand;  
The morning came, and with a mind unruffled  
I only said, "I do not understand."

Life is a game of whist. From unseen sources  
The cards are shuffled and the hands are dealt;  
Blind are our efforts to control the forces  
That, though unseen, are no less strongly felt.

I do not like the way the cards are shuffled,  
But yet I like the game, and want to play;  
And through the long, long night will I, unruffled,  
Play what I get until the break of day.

Sometimes the poet is reflective and philosophical to a degree. He condenses and expresses in little that which, if expanded, would reach to infinity. Thus, for example, in the two brief stanzas on "History" he delivers a theme which, if developed *in extenso*, would include all the historical lectures from Schlegel to Fiske:

Over the infinite prairie of level eternity,  
Flying as flies the deer,  
Time is pursued by a pitiless, cruel oblivion,  
Following fast and near.

Ever and ever the famishing coyote is following  
Patiently in the rear;  
Trifling the interval, yet we are calling it "History" —  
Distance from wolf to deer.

Ever and anon the half-satirical Ironquill breaks out into humor. Rarely shall we find anything so exquisite in its way as "Æsop's Fables," in which the poet modernizes upon the work of that great name which stands back of nearly all the applied stories among the civilized races. Here, for example, is the fable of "Persimmons":

Once a fox, upon the sly,  
Some persimmons did behold,  
So he got a pole and poled;  
But he gave up with a sigh,  
And acknowledged his mistake —  
The persimmons wouldn't rake.

MORAL.

Then in sorrow he did say,  
As he slowly walked away,  
Fruit of that kind will elude  
All our efforts, I am told,  
If the pole with which it's poled  
Hasn't got the longitude.

Under the caption of "The Life-Insurance Agent and the Post Auger" we have the following roaring joke:

Very skilfully and fast,  
Boring post-holes in the soil,  
Worked an honest son of toil;  
An insurance agent passed,  
Saying, "Such a 'perfect bore'  
I have never seen before."  
Then he sort of caught his breath,  
And he talked that man to death.

MORAL.

Strange it is, somehow or other  
We are bound to make a fuss,  
When we notice in another  
Vices that belong to us.

We have not the space to make extended quotations from the "Rhymes of Ironquill," but cannot forbear to notice in particular the poem on "John Brown." Nothing has compared in merit with this, except only that remarkable production of Edmund Clarence Stedman, written between the time of the condemnation and the date of the execution of the hero of Osawatomie. We quote five stanzas:

All merit comes  
From braving the unequal;  
All glory comes from daring to begin.  
Fame loves the State  
That, reckless of the sequel,  
Fights long and well, whether it lose or win.  
\* \* \* \* \*  
And there is *one*  
Whose faith, whose fight, whose failing,  
Fame shall placard upon the walls of time.  
He dared begin —  
Despite the unavailing,  
He dared begin, when failure was a crime.  
  
When over Africa  
Some future cycle  
Shall sweep the lake-gemmed uplands with its surge;  
When, as with trumpet  
Of Archangel Michael,  
Culture shall bid a colored race emerge;  
\* \* \* \* \*  
There, future orators  
To cultured freemen  
Shall tell of valor, and recount with praise  
Stories of Kansas  
And of Lacedæmon —  
Cradles of freedom, then of ancient days.  
  
From boulevards  
O'erlooking both Nyanzas,  
The statured bronze shall glitter in the sun,  
With rugged lettering:  
  
"JOHN BROWN OF KANSAS:  
HE DARED BEGIN;  
HE LOST,  
BUT, LOSING, WON."

Whoever has not read these "Rhymes of Ironquill" has missed one of the rarest and raciest products of recent times. Gradually recognition has come to the Poet of the Kaw. Among the first and best to acknowledge and salute the "Rhymes" was James Whitcomb Riley, who has addressed to Mr. Ware one of his incomparable pieces of dialectical wisdom. Speaking of the "Rhymes" by name, Mr. Riley, in the last three stanzas of his complimentary poem, says:

Read that-un too — 'bout game o' whist — and likenin' Life to fun  
Like that — and playin' out yer fist, however ca.ds is run:  
And them "Tobacker-Stemmers' Song" they sung with such a will,  
Down 'mongst the misery and wrong, O Rhymes of Ironquill!

And old "John Brown," who broke the sod of Freedom's failor field,  
And sowed his heart there, thankin' God pore slaves 'ud git the yield! —  
Rained his last tears for them, and us, to irrigate and till  
A crop of songs as glorious as Rhymes of Ironquill!

And, sergeant, died there in the War, 'at talked, out of his head —  
He went "back to the Violet Star," I'll bet! — just like he said! —  
Yer wars kin riddle bone and flesh, and blow out brains, and spill  
Life-blood — but *somepin'* lives on, fresh as Rhymes of Ironquill.

## THE ARENA FOR JUNE.

### Mayor J. D. Phelan on Municipal Reform.

IN THE ARENA for June the discussion of problems of Municipal Reform will be continued by the Hon. J. D. Phelan, Mayor of San Francisco. The value of this series of papers can, we think, be hardly overestimated. Municipal government is, perhaps, the most serious question which, in the long run, confronts the people of the United States. The cumulative tendency of population is adverse to republicanism. Republicanism requires a wide-open place and a dispersed people for its easy and natural development. The city does not readily or perfectly coalesce with the nation. The great city everywhere becomes self-centred, independent, localized, selfish, and corrupt. The worse rather than the better elements of society get into the ascendant. How this evil tendency in affairs can be controlled—how good government can be established and maintained in great municipalities—is the question of the day.

THE ARENA has already enabled its readers to obtain the views of Mayor Quincy, Mayor Pingree, and Mayor Thacher, whose powerful article in the current number will attract general attention.

### Professor William I. Hull on the "Children of the Other Half."

The work of organized charity in great cities has become so vast a machine as to require each year additional skill in the engineers who handle the levers. Stupendous as is the apparatus, however, it cannot keep pace with the conditions that demand its existence. This state of facts is the theme of the able article contributed to THE ARENA for June by Professor William I. Hull, Ph. D., of Swarthmore College.

In the classification of facts and figures, and in practical deductions therefrom, Professor Hull speaks as one having authority. He graphically depicts the de-

plorable aspect of life in the metropolis. More particularly he portrays the pitiable state of child-life in the Babylon of the nation. His article is also a faithful transcript of the efforts which are making to ameliorate the condition of the poor little victims of poverty and crime.

### Hon. David Starr Jordan, President of Leland Stanford Junior University.

Among the men who are now at the fore in the world of thought and action, few occupy a more enviable position than does President David Starr Jordan, of Leland Stanford Junior University. The industry of this tireless investigator is unflagging. His fine constitution and splendid natural endowments concur in making him one of the leading spirits of the age.

In the June number of THE ARENA, President Jordan contributes an article on "The Heredity of Richard Roe"; that is, a study in universal heredity reduced to a concrete example. This paper, we predict, will attract widespread attention, and will tend to confirm the unusually high opinion which is held of Doctor Jordan as an intellectual leader, a scientific investigator, and a master of pleasing English.

### Religious Teaching and the Moral Life.

IN THE ARENA for June the question of the bearing of formal religious teaching on the moral life of the people will be ably debated by Judge Charles R. Grant and Mrs. Elizabeth Cady Stanton. The former has for his theme, "Fidelity in the Social Compact." In following the discussion Judge Grant dwells upon religious instruction in connection with primary and secondary education. To this, Mrs. Stanton, writing under the head of "Reading the Bible in the Public Schools," replies by most strongly defending the proposition that the moral life of school children may be best preserved and promoted independently of Bible reading in the schools.

### Honorable William P. Fishback.

THE ARENA for June will bear to our contributors an important article by Honorable William P. Fishback, of Indianapolis, on the subject of "Railway Finances." Rarely have we been able to present a paper written in a more incisive and interesting manner than this, or one conveying a profounder lesson in public policy. Mr. Fishback is Master in Chancery for the state of Indiana, and is President of the Western Association of Writers. His contribution will be read with profound satisfaction by all who are seeking the betterment of current conditions in American society.

### Reform of Our Primary Election System.

Under this caption Mr. Edward Insley, of the Chicago *Tribune*, will contribute a cogent and convincing article to THE ARENA for May. Mr. Insley has been largely instrumental in promoting the reform of the primary-election law in the State of Illinois, and, more recently, in agitating the question of a general reform throughout the Republic. We do not doubt that his able article will be eagerly accepted by the readers of THE ARENA, and that it will be a factor in the transformation of Public Opinion.

### Recent American Poems.

Under the head of "Recent American Poems" THE ARENA for June will present to its readers as many as six of the finest recent gifts of the American muse. It is the purpose of the Editor to carry this Department from month to month, making admission thereto a sort of prize honor to be awarded to the best of THE ARENA poets. Our readers may confidently expect, in this Department, the most beautiful recent products of the American muse.

### Hubert M. Skinner.

Mr. Hubert M. Skinner, of Chicago, is not altogether unknown to the world of letters. His book on "American Folk Lore" has brought him a well-earned

reputation. Mr. Skinner is an excellent scholar in language and a critical essayist. In THE ARENA for the present month he has essayed the almost impossible task of rendering into English verse "The Djinn" of Victor Hugo. This work he has accomplished so successfully as to make his production memorable. In THE ARENA for June he will, under the caption of "The Tale of Two Horses," present a racy study in the politics of Andrew Jackson's time, and in doing so will surprise our readers with the beauty of his style no less than the keenness of his insight into the political conditions prevalent in the Thirties.

Besides the articles specified above, the June number will be filled out to completeness with matter of the highest interest. The Editor's article will be entitled "The Emperor," in which he will review, somewhat exhaustively, Professor Sloane's "Napoleon." The "Editor's Evening" and "Book Reviews" will complete what we trust will be one of the finest numbers of THE ARENA ever sent to our readers.

### Special Announcement.

Helen H. Gardener terminated her relation with THE ARENA with the number for March. She will hereafter be known to our readers as a promoter of those interests which she so ably upheld during her period of special duty under the former management.

The volume of Mrs. Gardener's literary work has so greatly increased, and her outside avocations as a lecturer and advocate of social reforms have extended so far, that it is necessary for her to take the step here indicated. Her books already before the public have drawn so large a share of attention as to induce the continuation of that series of successful works. Mrs. Gardener's fame as a lecturer has created a demand for her voice and argument in all parts of the country from New England to California. Our cordial good wishes go with Mrs. Gardener for enlarged success and increasing fame in her future career.



## To Our Patrons and Friends.

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If you find, on examination, that THE ARENA is battling for the cause of truth and worthily promoting the interests of the American people, please to contribute YOUR effort by helping to extend the influence and circulation of this magazine—to the end that it may still better fulfil its mission.

Respectfully,

ARENA COMPANY,

Copley Square, Boston.